

817.8240
41286 4570
Jan 1948

The QUARTERLY REVIEW

No. 571

JANUARY, 1947

Vol. 285

1. The Expansion of Russia.
By A. L. Kennedy, M.C.
 2. Spain, U.N.O., and Giral.
By Arthur F. Loveday, O.B.E.
 3. Nature Opposed to Artifice.
By Douglas Gordon.
 4. Reconstruction in Italy.
By Richard Goold-Adams.
 5. Soft Justice.
By Leo Page.
 6. *Le Jour Viendra.* [Lord Durham.]
By Marjorie Villiers.
 7. Byron and Shelley in Venice.
By Robert Sencourt.
 8. East Africa and the Returning Askari.
By Brigadier A. J. Knott.
 9. The New Poetry.
By Archibald Stalker.
 10. The Indian Princes and the Cabinet Mission.
By Sir William Barton, K.C.I.E.
 11. Thanks to the War . . .
By Eric Partridge.
 12. Germany Approaches the Cross-Roads.
By Captain Jonathan Blow.
- Jan - Oct.
285
1947

12 542
Some Recent Books.

Published Quarterly by

THE INTERNATIONAL NEWS COMPANY

Sole Agents for American Continent

131 VARICK STREET, NEW YORK

Single Copies, \$1.75

Yearly Subscription, \$6.50

Entered at New York Post Office as Second Class Matter
LONDON: JOHN MURRAY

TO SUBSCRIBERS

AND AGENCIES

Commencing with the January 1938 issue of the "QUARTERLY REVIEW," Subscribers will be supplied by the INTERNATIONAL NEWS COMPANY, 131 VARICK STREET, NEW YORK CITY, to whom all renewals and enquiries regarding this periodical should be sent.

THE
QUARTERLY
REVIEW

VOL. 285.

COMPRISING Nos. 571, 572, 573, 574.

PUBLISHED IN
JANUARY, APRIL, JULY & OCTOBER,
1947.

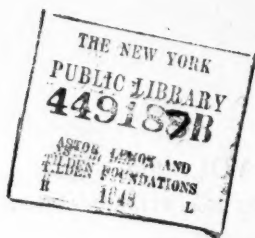
LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.1.

NEW YORK:
THE INTERNATIONAL NEWS COMPANY.

1947

Entered as Second Class matter at the New York, U.S.A., Post Office

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN



Printed in Great Britain by WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, Limited,
London and Beccles.

**THE
QUARTERLY
REVIEW**

No. 571.

**PUBLISHED IN
JANUARY, 1947.**

**LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.1.**

**NEW YORK:
THE INTERNATIONAL NEWS COMPANY.**

1947

Entered as Second Class matter at the New York, U.S.A., Post Office

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

The only **INTERNATIONAL** **Army!**

For 80 years The Salvation Army has been in action against sin, vice, ignorance and need. To-day hundreds of thousands of voluntary workers guided by 28,000 Salvation Army Officers are preaching the Gospel in 102 languages. Medical, educational and social work is carried on in 97 countries.

Inspired by devotion to Christ, men and women of all nations are serving mankind through The Salvation Army wherever there is need, without regard to race, creed or ideology. Their work is bringing relief to the people of war ravaged lands, re-uniting scattered families, restoring broken homes, helping to a new beginning those whose lives have been spoiled by folly and evil. This International Army is thus



making a practical contribution to universal understanding and goodwill.

The service of The Salvation Army is needed more than ever in the world to-day. New calls are constantly being made upon it. Your help is needed in the fight against evil and want. Please remember The Salvation Army in your prayers and by any gifts of service or money which you are able to give.

GENERAL ALBERT ORSBORN, C.B.E.
101 Queen Victoria St., London, E.C.4

Serving-
'Where there's need'
always!

Printed in Great Britain by WILLIAM CLOWES & SONS, Limited, London and Beccles

THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW

No. 571.—JANUARY 1947.

Art. 1.—THE EXPANSION OF RUSSIA.

THE history of modern Russia is the growth of Muscovy from the position of a small principality, one among many, to that of the centre of a vast Euro-Asiatic land-empire. For five centuries Russians have been seeking a final frontier which they never find. The Muscovite expansion into the empire of to-day is quite as remarkable as the growth of Britain into a world-wide Commonwealth; the two chief differences being that in the one case aggrandisement has taken place entirely overland, in the other overseas, and that in the one case the process is still continuing whereas in the other it has slackened and even been reversed. Those who ignore the influence which geography and tradition exercise over the present policy of a nation will never understand the Russia of to-day, even though its regime has been drastically changed by the greatest revolutionary convulsion since that of France in 1789. It is therefore well worth our while to glance at the evolution of Russia since the days of Ivan III (1462–1505). That most able ruler shook off the yoke of the Tartars and subjected several neighbouring principalities to his own sway, after which he felt entitled to call himself Ruler of all the Russias—though many another 'Russia' was destined to fall under the dominion of his successors. His sixteenth-century grandson, Ivan IV, usually called The Terrible on account of his barbaric ruthlessness, improved the Imperial title to that of Tsar, or Cæsar, extended his territories eastward and south-eastward to Kazan and Astrakhan, penetrated to Siberia, and, in conjunction with the sailors of our Queen Elizabeth opened up the Arctic route between Russia and the West. The domain which now stretched from the Arctic Ocean to the Urals and the Caspian was next extended westward

Vol. 285.—*No. 571.*

R. V. P. L.

against the kingdom of Lithuania. Smolensk had first been captured in 1514, but the opposition of Lithuanians and Poles was sufficiently resolute to retard much progress in the west until the eighteenth century. It was also in the 1700's, the period of greatest eastward expansion, that control of the whole area between the Ural mountains, the Volga river, and the Caspian Sea was finally established by the Russians. Progress was made southward from Moscow, slowly and with similar vicissitudes, the nomads of the steppes being wary and evasive opponents whom it took more than a century to bring under subjection. The Turks had overrun the Crimea and the territories beyond it, and Poland was well established in the Ukraine. In the middle of the seventeenth century the Ukrainians appealed to the Russian Tsar against their Polish masters; and Alexis Romanoff acceded to their request. From that moment is dated the gradual advance of Russia in the direction of the Black Sea and the Balkans. Kiev finally became Russian; also more Cossacks were subdued. Soon afterwards Peter the Great thrust farther southward, as far as Azov on the Black Sea, which, however, he failed to hold. More lasting were Peter's successes towards the Baltic. He conquered its northerly coast from Riga to Viborg, founded St Petersburg, and gave the Russian mansion its 'window on to Europe.'

It is impossible in the brief space available to enter with any kind of detail into the fearful, dramatic, and fluctuating conflicts of Russia's rulers with Sweden, Poland, Lithuania, the Turks, the Teutons, and the Cossacks. But all through these struggles, sometimes picturesque, sometimes savage, and often both, war was only one of the agencies of expansion. In the earliest days the Muscovite princes had extended their influence by money and by marriage as much as by force; and their successors were adepts at taking advantage of the dissensions of their neighbours, who too often played into their hands by craving their protection. Colonisation, moreover, was practised on a vast scale, as in the occupation of the southern steppes; and colonies of serfs followed traders and military outposts into Siberia, which became part of Russia in the eighteenth century, but whose occupation was not fully effective until the 5,000-mile railway

line had been laid from Moscow to Vladivostok in the 1900's. Before the eighteenth century closed the three empresses, Anna, Elizabeth, and Catherine the Great, had added Courland and other parts of Poland, the Crimea and its adjoining territory to their patrimony; and when Alexander I mounted the throne Russia had displaced Poland on the Baltic, greatly diminished the influence of Turkey on the Black Sea, and, most significantly, had clashed with the rising power of Prussia. It was a large landmark on the scene of European evolution when a Russian army entered Berlin in 1760. 'We have to do with barbarians' said the Prussian King Frederick at the time, 'who are digging the grave of humanity.' The words are worth quoting because they express the views of German rulers from Frederick the Great to Hitler.

Before the Seven Years War ended, however, Russia suddenly reversed her policy towards Prussia, and by helping him at a critical moment probably saved Frederick the Great from total destruction. She partnered him again in the notorious partitions of Poland, which need not be severally recounted here; and the story of the Napoleonic Wars, with Tsar Alexander I's alternating policies of belligerence and alliance, is too familiar to need recapitulation, especially as it brought but small increase in that growth of Russian territory which it is the purpose of these opening pages to summarise. Under him Russia acquired what was left of Finland, and also Bessarabia, thus penetrating simultaneously the north-eastern and south-eastern corners of Europe; and by the Treaty of Vienna (1815) she absorbed central Poland. In this connection let us note that Alexander proposed a solution which sounded magnanimous and was probably prompted by a typically Russian mixture of vague idealism and subtle self-interest. He wished to re-unite dismembered Poland into one kingdom, with a Parliament and native constitution, but with himself as king. The project became immediately suspect to such veterans in diplomacy as Castlereagh and Metternich, nor did the Prussian Hardenberg relish the creation by Russia of a State which would owe its existence to her, would certainly be her vassal, and which would extend her frontier to the Oder. Alexander found himself vigorously opposed, and Russia had to be content for the time with re-absorbing the

Duchy of Warsaw. It has been left to Stalin to realise Alexander's dream.

Russia's position in Europe was in any case very greatly augmented, politically and territorially, by the outcome of the Napoleonic drama. In addition to gaining the three several increases of territory in the west Alexander had pushed the Russian frontier farther across the Caucasus. A lodgment having already been made on the south side of the mountains before his day, Alexander I added large stretches of land bordering on the Caspian and the Black Seas. His successors in the nineteenth century absorbed the Erivan district of Armenia and took the Kars-Batoum area from Turkey in 1878. During last century, also, Russian domination was extended over the Kirghiz Steppe, east of the Caspian Sea ; and the seizure of the town of Tashkent was followed by the creation of a Russianised government of Turkestan, which carried the Empire to the frontier of Afghanistan. Farther east still, the process of absorption went steadily on. A treaty was signed with China by which Russia acquired all the left bank of the River Amur ; and to the Russian mansion was added a large back-window at Vladivostok, looking out upon the Pacific. And still Russia crept outward. Between 1900 and 1905, Manchuria was taken over. Here she was destined to sustain one of those setbacks which vigorous opposition has so frequently caused to her progress. The Japanese intervened with arms, and Russia was driven out of Manchuria and Korea. But she began at once to reach out again along another route—through Mongolia. How many people in this country realise that between 1912 and the present day Russia has been quietly detaching Outer Mongolia from China and attaching it to herself ? She now feels sufficiently well established there to put forward this vast, thinly-populated and backward province as a candidate for membership of the United Nations Organisation.

And if we see the same expansive impulse working in the Russian people to-day, we also find similarity of method in giving effect to it. The Russians are still a primitive and vigorous race, a formidable compound of European with Mongolian, grown in mere numbers from about 36,000,000 in 1800 to 170,000,000 at the present time, including all the forty-six lesser nations whom

Russia now comprises (and who speak sixty-one different languages). There is still the elemental, spontaneous urge of growth in Russians, who deem themselves a superior race, and who add to the natural suspicions and cunning of the peasant the mystic idealism of the dreamer. Their policy of expansion is ever accompanied by an ennobling catchword which deceives even themselves. With Alexander I the idea was Messianic; it found expression in the famous Holy Alliance; but it carried the dominion of Russia westward and eastward. The Tsars after him invoked the racial theory of Pan-slavism, which gave them an excellent reason for intervening most actively in the affairs of the Slav nations of the Balkans. The tenets of Communism and the championship of all 'down-trodden' races to-day give the pretext for Russian agents to get to work both inside foreign nations and among the races dependent upon them. It need not be assumed that these reasons for interference in the affairs of other countries are all pretext and humbug. Themselves only recently released from serfdom, the Russian people may readily believe the exhortations of their rulers that they have a mission to liberate others, and they see in many parts of the world, especially in the tropics, backward peoples governed by Europeans. When British soldiers were recently helping to restore order in the Netherlands East Indies they saw chalked up on the walls of Sourabaya 'Colonisation is a crime.' Indonesians, like millions of others, have been taught by Moscow propaganda to believe that colonisation is a synonym for exploitation; and that officials or soldiers who strive to create and to maintain order are merely tyrants. The Russian mentality is logical with a sweeping, sentimental extremism about it. Russians do not favour compromise better than any other eastern European race does; they do not like piecemeal solutions; they understand and prefer drastic remedies for what they conceive to be the ills of the day. During the disarmament debates at Geneva in the 1920's Litvinoff proposed the complete disarmament of every nation; and on grounds of logic and sentiment he naturally presented an irrefutable case. His critics had to reply, as tactfully as possible, that the net result would be to leave Russia irresistibly the strongest Power in Europe and that nobody could quite

trust Russian forbearance in circumstances of such great temptation. 'Proletarians of the world, unite,' is another watchword which has an idealistic ring about it, and which gives Moscow a reason for interfering indirectly in the internal politico-economics of other countries and weakening them in the process, thus increasing her own relative power.

The essential continuity of Russian policy and methods is repeatedly illustrated to-day. Stalin restored the Patriarchal See; and in all Russian churches of the official creed he is prayed for as the 'God-anointed leader.' Under the old regime the Church was entirely subservient to the Tsars. It was a government department ruled by the Procurator of the Holy Synod and prayed for the Little Father of All the Russians. The Comintern is nominally abolished to-day, but simultaneously with its formal abolition the Pan-Slav Congress was established with its permanent headquarters in Moscow. In the course of the recent war, when a British Field-Marshal preferred to appear in the battle-dress of a private soldier, Russian generals resumed the golden stripes and resplendent epaulettes of the Tsarist army, and Russian representatives abroad were provided with the smart uniforms of an older diplomacy.

Besides these outer and often innocuous forms of continuity the less reputable methods and customs of Russian policy persist. At home the Okhrana of the Tsars is reproduced in the O.G.P.U., now known as the N.K.V.D., that State within the State which has power of life and death over every citizen of the Soviet Union, and against which even the favourite of a week before has no appeal. Abroad, espionage is a prescribed instrument of the Russian government. The report rendered last summer by the Royal Commission which investigated the network of Russian-sponsored spies in Canada recalls a passage in Mr Harold Nicolson's book on the Congress of Vienna.

'The Russian generals and diplomats, moreover' (writes Mr Nicolson), 'having convinced themselves that Russian arms alone had liberated Europe from an odious tyranny . . . began on every occasion and in every country to indulge in self-assertiveness and intrigue. . . . At the same time from the remotest corners of Europe, Asia, Africa, and even America reports began to pour in (to the Foreign Office) regarding the

presence of mysterious Russian agents and the activities of energetic and overbearing Russian diplomatists. Such reports were too numerous, too frequent, and withal, too consistent to be ignored.*

The recent Canadian report showed that beside the spy-ring exposed by the Russian cipher clerk, Igor Gouzenko, there were other under-cover systems directed by the N.K.V.D., by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and by the Russian Naval Intelligence. The ruling clique in Moscow was shown to be acting with the most flagrant disloyalty towards a Dominion which had rendered unstinted help to them at the crisis of Russia's fortunes in the war and which is a partner with the United Kingdom, to whom by treaty Russia owes the duty of an ally. The report showed that the Russian Government was aiming not merely at collecting by furtive methods whatever information it could about the manufacture of atom bombs and kindred matters, but that it was deliberately promoting the disruption of the Canadian political regime. For all the sobriety of its language, this official document flashes a brilliant light upon Russian aims and methods in foreign countries. Trained agitators were proved to be working in all parts of Canada under the direction of the Soviet Military Attaché in Ottawa, Colonel Zabotin. These crafty agents of Moscow usually began by forming 'Study Groups,' or 'Informal Discussion Groups,' which were cleverly led to take a Communist and 'international' view of the political and economic problems discussed. 'The development course,' as it was called, led to a 'loosening of loyalties' and 'created an atmosphere and an ethic of conspiracy.' Having induced in their tyro Canadian collaborators a sense of guilty conspiracy and having rendered them expert in stealthy double-dealing, these agents of our twenty-year ally proceeded to detach them from their natural loyalties until they swore 'complete obedience to Party doctrine and especially to Party leaders.' Colonel Zabotin's men finally achieved their political purpose when 'loyalty to the leaders of the Canadian Communist Party could be shown to take pre-

* 'Congress of Vienna ; a Study in Allied Unity,' p. 119.

cedence over national loyalty and over official oaths of secrecy.'

Nor let it be supposed that Canada is the only country where cells of revolutionaries are being seduced from national duty and from personal good faith. Rather would it be difficult to name a single country where the same conspiratorial excitation of passions is not indirectly encouraged, if not actually directed by Moscow. The list of diplomatic passes issued to the Soviet Embassies is usually longer than that of other nations; and the large Staffs keep themselves to themselves, generally confining their contacts, at least in the western countries, to persons with whom they are officially or ideologically connected. This is a strange way indeed of encouraging the internationalism which they profess. In Moscow itself the British ambassador is prevented from moving freely among Russians. Russian officials do nothing towards establishing a wider friendly understanding with western countries either in Russia or in the countries dominated by Russia. In the land of Moscow-tutored Tito the Belgrade Correspondent of Reuter has lately been arrested by Ozna, the Yugoslav equivalent of the Russian N.K.V.D., because he tried to report truthfully what he saw, his predecessor having already been forced to leave the country because, in the words of the General Manager of Reuter's, Mr Chancellor, 'the conditions imposed upon him made it impossible for him to act as an honest and impartial correspondent.' The non-political American library in the Yugoslav capital has also been closed by the Marshal dictator.

Difficult as Russian secretiveness makes it to follow all the activities of Russian agents in foreign countries, the evidence that has been obtained over a period of years confirms that they follow closely the line of propaganda on the wireless and in the Press, as is only to be expected under this totally centralised regime. And of this propaganda Mr Bevin himself felt justified in saying last February—'It has been the incessant propaganda of Moscow and the incessant propaganda of the Communist Party in every country in the world, to attack the British people and the British Government. *That* is the danger to the peace of the world. It sets us against one another, causes suspicion and misunderstanding, and

makes one wonder what the motive is.' Strong words from the lips of a Labour Foreign Secretary, who would have been the last man to use them had there been the slightest doubt about the trend of Moscow-directed communist policy all over the world. And again later, when Mr Bevin was being urged by Mr Eden and 'The Times' to 'make a new approach' in the Paris peace-making, he replied 'There is one kind of war, that, if we are to get peace among the nations, must stop—that is what is called the war of nerves in which the Press, the radio, speeches and everything that is going on has left some unfortunate countries in a state of disturbance.' And when Stalin gave carefully calculated replies to a pre-arranged series of questions sent to him by a pro-Russian journalist in Moscow, Mr Bevin quietly remarked, 'The acid test is not in speeches made by statesmen, but it is the approach in the Conference room to the actual problems we are discussing that matters.'

Mr Bevin, fortunately for the world, frankly recognises that Russia has declared an ideological war on Britain and the United States, and on everything British and American. But most people do not even now realise the ubiquity and persistence of her attack. When last summer the British mission of Cabinet Ministers went to India for the purpose, happily achieved, of making a fresh start in Constitution-building, Moscow broke into virulent abuse of British rule. Mr Rajagopalachari, an important Madras politician, warned his countrymen in language which western statesmen would do well to employ. 'One can see,' he told them, 'why Russia wants the India agitation kept at white heat until her own plans for security and greater power are completed. We cannot put off our own salvation to accommodate Russia, however much she may desire it.' Englishmen do not bother much about what Russia is saying about them even in the English language, and there is sometimes wisdom in indifference; but we ought to keep in mind that this particular form of warfare is being waged against us with great virulence and we ought to drop the pretence that Russia is a friendly country. She maligns us not in one or two languages but in fifty. An English listener who happens to understand Norwegian heard the Moscow wireless pour into Norwegian ears (on the evening of June 6)

an account of Britain's true reasons for entering the war in 1939. The attack on Hitlerite Germany, it seems, was 'purely incidental,' and the real reason was that 'that little country (Britain) and its fascist reactionary leaders love war and thrive on war.' When we were in trouble in Egypt the Egyptians were informed by Moscow 'Britain desires to carry on its own policy of occupation, with no wish to satisfy Egypt's demands for national independence'; and the rider was added that the Egyptian demands were 'typical of the longing for liberation among all the Arab peoples.' Ilya Ehrenburg is still screaming on the air about 'the bloodshed caused by Britain in India, Greece, and Palestine.'

Fortunately, deeds count for more than broadcast words, and in the long run British policy lives down Moscow's mendacious hostility. But Russian foreign policy matters very much; and Moscow's policy follows closely the lines of its propaganda. Everywhere Russia obstructs Britain and the United States, and misuses the working of the new machinery of the United Nations Organisation. She brings, or causes a satellite State to bring, reckless charges against this country of fomenting war, as recently in the case of Greece. 'The case as presented here' the British representative in New York, Sir Alexander Cadogan, felt compelled to say 'is sham, with doubtful intent.' The charge, he said, was that Greece, under British impulsion, was planning an attack upon fivefold stronger neighbours. 'It would simply be a joke,' he observed, 'if it did not recall the technique of which all of us have recent vivid memory, and which brought untold disaster upon an unhappy world.' The Russian representatives at the Council's headquarters have indeed so twisted the instrument of the Great Powers' veto as to make of it the proverbial spanner which is thrown into the works. Even Lord Cecil, most charitable of critics, declared recently that Russia had used the veto 'to stop any proposition which was not in accord with the most rigidly national view of Russian interests.' 'The Russian representatives,' he continued, 'seemed to think it was quite legitimate to use the machinery of the United Nations to promote the power and prosperity of Russia without considering anything else.'

Lord Cecil went straight to the point. Stalin, like all

the rulers of Russia before him except his own immediate predecessors in the first flush of the Bolshevik Revolution, has one aim, and one only, to promote the power and prosperity of Russia; and he is as unscrupulous in pursuing that aim as he and his fellow-revolutionaries were in securing their own rise to power in Moscow. Whatever may have been the motive of these revolutionaries in 1917-20, whether it was an access of idealism or whether mere prudence, they for a while went back on the traditional policy of aggrandisement and renounced territory all down the western fringe of their country and disowned the Tsarist claim to acquire Istanbul. But the mood of renunciation did not last long. Stalin the dictator has thrown overboard the practice of generous internationalism which was good enough when he was a subordinate stabiliser of the Bolshevik regime. He has begun to out-Tsar the Tsars. He has taken back all the Baltic littoral which was abandoned in 1918, suppressing in the process the personal and national liberties of Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians. He has rendered Finland entirely dependent upon Russia, and he imposes so much awe even in Sweden that Swedish public men hardly dare utter a single phrase which might sound distasteful to his ears. He has purloined a small slice of Germany that never belonged to Russia before; he has re-posessed himself of the portion of Poland which Russia gave up by the Treaty of Riga in 1921, and has, as already noted, brought the whole country under his indirect control. Bulgaria and Yugoslavia know him for their overlord, and some day British newspapers may startle their readers with the news that these two countries have voted themselves into the Union of Socialist and Soviet Republics. Stalin is in process of absorbing Persian Azerbaijan; already his hand has reached out tentatively over the whole of Persia. In the Far East, having absorbed Outer Mongolia, he is suborning the Communist disintegrators of Chinese unity.

How to meet these excessive pretensions of the U.S.S.R. is one of the most embarrassing problems that has ever perplexed the statesmen of the world, and particularly, perhaps, of the British Empire, which has the honour to be the main target of the Soviet's political sharp-shooters. Just as a doting husband finds it doubly

difficult to be firm with the wife whom he has over-indulged in the past, so Mr Bevin's task to-day is rendered doubly difficult by the exaggerated deference of this country towards Russia in recent years. We need not be captious with Mr Eden for having cultivated her friendship so warmly during the war, though we may ask why alone of all our co-belligerents Russia should have been favoured with a twenty-year alliance—a period which will probably approximately correspond to the period of Germany's helplessness. But we surely cannot excuse the sentimental complaisance of public opinion with every whim and every crime committed by our ally in the sacred name of anti-Fascism. When the very democratic and inoffensive Baltic States were crudely annexed by Soviet Russia hardly a tear was shed in this country, except by the diplomatic representatives of those States, who continued for some time, with as much dignity as they could muster, to fill their sinecure posts. To 'The Times' their annexation appeared to be fully justified.* And while mob orators in Trafalgar Square were demanding the formation of a 'second front' which might have brought almost irreparable damage to the Allied arms, 'The Times' was as early as in the spring of 1943 urging the British Government to agree immediately and in advance to whatever claims Russia should put forward in the name of security. 'The Times' also actually argued that Russia had the right to demand the creation of 'friendly governments' on countries adjacent to herself, though such a demand must obviously imply the right to interfere in their internal policy, which her spokesmen have renounced on several occasions.† The

* Contrast the attitude of 'The Times' on the fate of the Baltic States with its indignant protests one hundred years ago when the United States annexed California from Mexico, though U.S.A. was in war against Mexico at the time—'That one nation at war with another in the most trivial cause should coolly seize upon its largest province upon no other plea than that it was "unnecessary to the enemy but of the greatest importance to themselves," or that the new line of demarcation would "square off the territory of both nations" is nothing but a most extravagant assertion of the right of the stronger.' . . . 'Republics are really more tyrannically aggressive than despotic monarchies.'

† E.g. Molotov in 1940—'We stand for an exact and honest fulfilment of Agreements signed by us on a basis of mutuality and declare that foolish prattle of the Sovietisation of the Baltic States is of use merely to our common enemies.'

Hitlerite theory that what was in the interests of Nazi Germany was right and what injured those interests was wrong, so vehemently repudiated when advanced by the Nazis, was complaisantly endorsed if the claimant was Soviet Russia. When after the war Russian troops remained in Persia beyond the period allowed in the Anglo-Russian-Persian Agreement, 'The Times' commented that the first and indisputable step should be to obtain a statement from Russia about her conditions for carrying out the withdrawal—to which she was already legally, morally, and politically pledged. Our leading newspaper at least returned to its own high traditions by printing next day a vigorous protest from the Iranian ambassador against its extraordinary lapse from political morality. The extreme form of *realpolitik* practised by Molotov at the Peace Conference was almost to the last, though less and less eagerly, excused or explained away in Printing House Square. The attitude that it is absolutely necessary for Britain to enjoy the friendship of Russia and for all four of the Great Powers to maintain unity on the Security Council, has tardily been modified. But the mischief has been done. Russia was long encouraged to believe that nothing would be refused to her. Her friendship was necessary to us, so we must agree to whatever she demanded. Unity was necessary at Washington, so she could say 'no' to whatever did not suit her. Fortunately, Mr Bevin has realised that Russia is not in the least interested in saving the civilisation that has been built up in western Europe, in the Americas, and in the British Dominions; he remembers, what others have forgotten, that the Bolsheviks neither overthrew Tsardom nor voluntarily fought Hitler. The Bolshevik clique overthrew the Kerensky Socialists in Russia; it hates, though it sometimes exploits, the Socialist regimes of other countries; and it cast in its lot against those who were fighting Hitler, until Russian territory was invaded by him.

Once it is understood that the small group in control of Russian policy to-day has no particle of goodwill for any country that is not Communist, and that it is set upon aggrandising Russia through the medium of Communism, all the vagaries and obstructive tactics of Molotov during the negotiations in Paris fall into place. Stability

is not the best soil for the growth of Communism. Moral and political lawlessness is a much better one. Disintegrated by the anarchist it produces in rotation first underground Communism and then the full-grown police-State. So Russia has prolonged the peace negotiations, by challenging alike every point of procedure and every proposal of compromise for as long as she could without becoming too obviously the principal peace-obstructor instead of peace-maker. The leaders of the Soviet Union probably hoped that American interest in Europe 'would die of exasperation'* if the making of the Peace Treaties could be indefinitely delayed. Moreover, it has suited Russia in several ways to maintain armies in ex-enemy countries, such as Hungary and Austria, which will have to be withdrawn as soon as peace-treaties are signed. It is pretty certain that Russia has herself not escaped the economic and social unrest which afflicts other countries in this post-war period, and the maintenance of hundreds of thousands of men abroad, where they live partly on the resources of the land they occupy, conveniently retards the difficult processes of demobilising them and fitting them into the dislocated industrial machine at home. These troops, also, have seen standards of living that compare favourably with those in Soviet Russia, which they had been taught to believe were far superior to those prevailing in any capitalist society. All this time the Soviet engineers have been transporting into Russia about half the oil produced at Zisterdorf in Austria; and from the same country they have already removed much more of the industrial equipment than her allies agreed they were entitled to take. Molotov has been trying to make the Danube a Russian-controlled water-way—while the mouths at Sulina and Kilia were becoming silted up, thus jeopardising the great work of the British engineers who during last century had ensured the river's navigability. Moscow is almost certainly aiding the Communist bands which from Bulgaria and Macedonia enter and harry northern Greece, the only Balkan country which, with British sympathy and contracted-for support, still successfully resists Communist domination.

* Phrase used by the Washington correspondent of 'The Times,' Sept. 3, 1946.

Britain, with the full moral support of the United States, has made in Greece a stand for the kind of democracy in which we believe, and which is irreconcilable with a Moscow-made regime. The Soviet system is a travesty of government by the people. It may at best be described as government for the people—a claim which any dictator of the past had as good a right to make for his rule. Russia believes neither in free speech nor in free elections. If opposition shows itself in the Soviet land or in any dependent country, the opponents are 'eliminated,' which means that they are arrested and carried away and never appear again. They may be murdered or they may be sent to one of the numerous concentration camps which in Russia and Siberia are hardly less horrible than were those of Nazi Germany.* The people of Soviet Russia can neither choose a new Government nor turn out the old. The individual does not count. Like Hitler's Nazi, the Communist is expected to surrender his conscience to his leader. Russian imperialism is the most formidable of tyrannies because it nullifies personality and enslaves the qualities of the individual wherever it reaches.

Britain and the American and Western European democracies represent the antithesis of these ideas, which underlie and nourish the political conflict between East and West. The western countries have built their constitutions on the foundations of belief in God and the spiritual element in man, which are both denied by Communism. It appears to many of us that western civilisation cannot survive without belief in Christianity and that man in the natural and pagan state, as preferred by Communism, is neither brotherly nor peace-loving, and can only be made to accept a policy of good neighbourliness if the Christian ethos has first been created. Communism in any case claims the whole man and the realm of nature for purely materialistic ends; and when translated into political action the Communist creed has proved itself anti-Christian in tendency, inhuman in method, and violently unbrotherly towards all who do not accept its dogma. By contrast Christian civilisation nourishes the

* In Yugoslavia there are ten concentration camps in the province of Slovenia alone, to which Tito's opponents are sent without trial.

individual, encourages variety, and preaches toleration. We are rival guides for humanity to choose from.

British imperialism is as much the opposite of Russian imperialism as British democracy is of Russian democracy. If in its early stages it often resorted to force, it has nevertheless, like American imperialism in Cuba and the Philippines, made the liberation of the individual and emancipation of the country by self-government its supreme endeavour and aim. At the same time as Russia is reaching out an iron hand over more countries in the west, in the Middle East and Far East, on the Baltic as on the Black Sea and the Dardanelles, Britain is receding from India, from Burma, from Egypt, and from Transjordan, which under her ægis have learned the difficult art of self-government and which are on the road to that complete independence which has long since been reached by all the British Dominions. And Communism is the present-day carrier of Russian influence and imperialism. Mr Byrnes, who has deserved well of humanity by his work in Paris, has spoken out finely against 'aggression by subterfuge or political infiltration,' and against 'conducting a war of nerves to gain strategic ends.' Mr Bevin and the British Foreign Office agree with him in regarding these methods as contrary to the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, if not indeed to the actual letter of it. Russian policy has already plainly infringed the first Article of the Charter, which defines one of the purposes of U.N.O. to be 'To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples.' Two systems stand opposed. The principles of the Charter are challenged by a State which was chosen to be one of its principal champions, just as the League of Nations was overthrown in the end by three countries, Germany, Italy, and Japan, who had held permanent seats upon its Council. We need not talk of war between Russia and Britain. Britain has accepted the Kellogg principle that denies legitimacy to war for a national purpose. Britain will never declare war upon Russia. The only possible case in which we should be involved in war against her would be if she continued persistently to violate the principles and precepts of the United Nations Organisation, in which event the proper course would be that she should be

expelled under Article 6, and then, if she nevertheless incorrigibly acted as a dangerous law-breaker, there would be no alternative but that all nations which see in the principles of the Charter the only possible foundation of ultimate security should take up arms in a defensive-enforcement war. Certain it is that the more vigorously the genuine adherents of U.N.O. defend its moral and political principles now, the less likely they are to have to engage in active warfare on their behalf. But the challenge has already been made. It is repeated day after day by the voice of Russia—'We, the Soviet people, have only one road—forward and forward to new and newer victories, to the triumph of Communism.' That was 'Pravda' a short while ago. If one does not always take what Professor Harold Laski says very seriously, one may agree that he was right when he said at Princeton the other day (Oct. 12, 1946), 'Despite vehement insistence by statesmen of their passion for peace ensured by an effective world assembly, I can see no prospect of its achievement in any future with which this generation need concern itself. . . . The world faces a crisis of vaster proportions than any since the Reformation.' And from the same part of the world comes another warning from one who starts from the opposite point of view to Professor Laski's. Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop of New York, said on October 10, 'The plague of militant atheists, whose code of life and law is moral nihilism, is creeping suffocatingly over the world, poisoning the bloodstream and blocking the heartbeat of America, endangering the freedoms of men everywhere.' The danger is upon us and escapism will avail no more to-day than it did two decades ago. We are weary, but the challenge is out. Faith, character, and commonsense can defeat Communism in its present stage, but, if we fail to meet its challenge with active argument and steadfast policy, the issue will eventually have to be decided by the suicidal method of rocket and bomb.

A. L. KENNEDY.

Art. 2.—SPAIN, U.N.O., AND GIRAL.

SELDOM, if ever, in history can there have been such a striking case of collective injustice and bad reasoning, in which politicians and statesmen from all over the world have taken part or acquiesced, as the treatment meted out to Spain successively at San Francisco, Potsdam, and at Hunter College by the United Nations. It is fair to say that certain statesmen have dissociated themselves in part from this treatment; among these can be cited Mr Churchill, Mr Byrnes, Mr van Kleffens, Mr Bevin, and Sir Alexander Cadogan, but even these politicians have thought it necessary to be careful to pay tribute to popularity by expressing their 'detestation' of the present Spanish regime.

The present regime in Spain has undoubtedly the serious defects of totalitarianism and excessive bureaucracy with the corruption and extravagance always brought by the latter, to which I shall refer later, but 'detestation' in these matters should not be eclectic and should not be exclusively applied to Spain, which has no monopoly of these defects and is to-day among the more tranquil, prosperous, and better fed countries of Europe. Life in Spain cannot be termed free in the sense of the freedom of the civilised Victorian era, but it is comparatively freer than in most European countries to-day.

In September last I made an extensive tour of some of the most important cities and agricultural regions of Spain, with a view to studying with my own observation and my past experience of the country, the actual conditions, political, social, and agricultural of Spain and satisfied myself that the picture painted by her critics of a country of famine, want, and terrorism is a complete illusion. Many things are faulty and others are inefficient, as in other countries; Spain is ever a country of contradictions and Spanish character and methods are the same throughout the centuries, but no observer could deny that to-day the vast majority of all classes in Spain is well fed, well clothed, and happy, with money to spend on the favourite recreations of bull-ring, football, and the cafés.

The injustice and hypocrisy of the discussions in U.N.O. were demonstrated because they failed to measure other nations by the same 'yardstick' as they applied to

Spain. This can be well illustrated by the application of the old proverb 'what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.' What is sauce for the Spanish goose should also be sauce for the Muscovite, Yugoslavian, or Mexican gander. As regards Spain, but not as regards her accusers, U.N.O. laid on one side the principle of the Atlantic Charter that the exclusively internal affairs of a country were her own concern. The culmination of injustice was reached when the plaintiffs at Hunter College became both prosecutors and judges, a procedure which must eternally discredit any court.

The situation became a mixture of farce and tragedy. It was a farce that U.N.O. should seriously treat as a potential government for a non-member country a group of that country's exiled politicians, elected by the rump of an unconstitutional parliament, many of them living on spoils stolen from Spain during the civil war and guilty in the eyes of the majority of Spaniards of the blood of thousands of their fellow-countrymen; it was a tragedy because Spain stands, and throughout history has stood, for the same Christian western civilisation to which Britain and America belong, which is threatened to-day with destruction. It is a logical thesis that we are to-day witnessing a manifestation of the natural law of the eternal conflict between good and evil, between truth and falsehood, and between God and the powers of darkness.

There are many reasons for the attitude of the public and the press towards Spain, but the chief ones are ignorance and the enormous power, both direct and indirect, of Russian and Communist propaganda, which with devilish intelligence and ability created, through falsehood, a myth, belief in which became the very touchstone of left-wing orthodoxy. Stalin has never forgiven Spain for the defeat he suffered in his attempt to set up a Soviet there, and the attitude towards Spain of people and nations is a good gauge of their subservience or complacency to atheist communism.

The falsehood, still propagated, that foreign intervention in the Spanish civil war was chiefly that of Germany and Italy and begun by them can be disproved by many historical facts and publications. One outstanding fact kills it altogether. In October 1937 there was a grand celebration in Madrid, at that time occupied by the

Republican government, on the anniversary of the arrival at the Madrid front of the International Brigades, which as all know were the communist contribution to the civil war and were estimated to amount eventually to 100,000 men. Thus the date of arrival of the International Brigades as October 1936 became unalterably fixed, while there is no evidence or even statement to the effect that the Germans or Italians arrived in Spain to help General Franco until the following December. It was to counter the foreign communist intervention on the republican side that General Franco engaged Germans and Italians as mercenaries, and they took the opportunity to try out their weapons in preparation for the world war and to attempt to dominate Spain to their own advantage—a project in which they failed.

This article deals chiefly with the Spanish-U.N.O. problem and its reasons ; it does not purpose to go back to the controversies of the Spanish civil war except as it affects and explains the persecution of Spain by Russia and the left-wing parties and press of the world. The Spanish civil war was planned, instigated, and eventually dominated (on the Republican side) by Russia. Those who still doubt this fact and wish to inform themselves should read ' Spain ' written by the historian Salvador de Madariaga, who was anti-Franco and a former minister in the Spanish Republican government ; they should also read the Communist party publications about Spain from 1920 onwards and the description of the plan to set up a Soviet in Spain, reproduced in the writer's book ' World War in Spain.'

Throughout the Second World War a campaign of abuse and defamation of Spain was carried on and she was depicted to the world as fascist, pro-German, and the tool of Hitler and Mussolini, into whose arms Spain would, in fact, have been driven if it had not been for the clever statesmanship of General Franco, who was determined to keep Spain out of the war and who was able to resist the blandishments or threats of Germany and avoid the invasion of the Iberian peninsula, notwithstanding the presence on his frontier for four years of a victorious German army. Whatever motives may be attributed to General Franco and whether his sympathies were strongly pro-German or not is to-day entirely secondary in face of

this tremendous factor on the side of the United Nations—the neutrality of Spain—without which the ports of the Iberian peninsula would have been in the hands of Germany, whose armies would have besieged Gibraltar, closed the Mediterranean, and crossed to Africa. Mr Churchill recognised in his speeches our debt to Spain's neutrality and he and our Foreign Office refused to be biased in their treatment of Spain by the ignorant clamour of the left-wing press, which might have had such dire results.

Sins of General Franco and of Falange were contributory factors to the campaign against Spain and have been much advertised; many of them are undeniable. In order to give a fair and truthful picture, it appears that nothing could be better than to quote some paragraphs from 'War-time Mission in Spain' by Mr Carlton Hayes, who was U.S. Ambassador in Spain from 1942-45; his statements must be accepted as authoritative; he writes on pages 297-300 and 303.

'Let me now set forth certain conclusions from my wartime experience and reflection in Spain.

Throughout my entire residence there, from May 1942 to January 1945, I had constant evidence that the large majority of the Spanish people greatly desired (1) to stay out of the international struggle, (2) to avoid recurrence of civil war, and (3) to be friendly with the English-speaking democracies, especially with the United States. These desires have been common, not only to the mass of "Leftists" (Republicans and Socialists), but also to most of the "Rightist" groups which supported General Franco in the Spanish Civil War (Liberal Monarchists, Traditionalists, and the Conservative following of Gil Robles) and consequently to members of these groups who held office in the existing Government (which was essentially a coalition rather than a single-party Government).

General Franco is in a curious position. He is a cautious politician with strong military backing, and, though doubtless the large majority of Spaniards, "Rightist" as well as "Leftist," would ideally prefer another Chief of State (if it could be arranged in an orderly fashion), many of them recognise, with varying degrees of gratitude, that by virtue of his cautious policy he succeeded in keeping Spain free from foreign and domestic war during an extraordinarily trying period.

So long as Axis victory seemed to him inevitable, so long

as almost the whole continent of Europe was at the mercy of Germany, with German armies massed near the Pyrenees and German submarines infesting the seas adjacent to Spain, General Franco let Hitler and indeed the world believe that he was pro-Axis. Nevertheless, whatever may have been his inmost thoughts and personal fears in the matter, the fact remains that at least from the date of his dismissal of Serrano Suñer from the Foreign Office and the leadership of the Falange, in September 1942, General Franco guided or backed the responsible officials of his Government in approximating Spain's official position to the pro-Allied position of the large majority of the Spanish people.

From September 1942 to June 1943, while the Spanish Government was still ostensibly "non-belligerent" and hence technically "unneutral," it not only placed no obstacle in the way of our landings and military operations in North Africa and Southern Italy but gave us significant facilities, such as *de facto* recognition of the French Committee of National Liberation at Algiers and of its official representatives in Spain; free transit through Spain of over 25,000 volunteers (chiefly French) for active service with our armed forces in North Africa; non-internment of several hundreds of our forced-landed military airmen and their evacuation through Gibraltar; immediate delivery to us, quite uncompromised, of secret equipment on forced-landed planes; and freedom and full opportunity to carry on economic warfare with the Axis on Spanish territory by means of pre-emptive buying of wolfram, mercury, fluorspar, skins, woollen goods, etc., and blacklisting of Spanish firms doing business with the Axis.

From July 1943 to May 1944 the Spanish Government shifted its declared position from "non-belligerency" to "neutrality," and gradually increased the facilities it was according us to the detriment of the Axis. It not only curbed the discrimination against us in the Falangist-controlled press of the country, withdrew the Blue Division and Blue Air Squadron from the Eastern front, and replaced pro-Axis with pro-Allied diplomatic representatives in countries of Europe and Latin America, but it permitted the commercial sale of American propaganda magazines, granted us control of all passenger traffic, by Spanish airplanes as well as by ships, between Spain and Spanish Morocco, and withheld recognition of Mussolini's "Social Republican" Government in North Italy.

Moreover, it speeded up the evacuation of Allied refugees and forced-landed airmen, arranged for the escape to Spain of a considerable number of Jews from Hungary, Germany, and the Low Countries, and tolerated, even to the point of abetting,

the very important clandestine activities of our secret espionage services directed toward obtaining from across the Pyrenees invaluable military information about German troop movements and dispositions in France. Finally, as the result of a series of negotiations, pressed by us and vehemently opposed by Germany, Spain embargoed all exports of wolfram to the Axis from February to May and agreed to allow thereafter only token shipments (which stopped altogether after our landing in France in June 1944). Simultaneously, the Spanish Government agreed to submit to arbitration the question of the internment of Italian warships which had been held for several months in the Balearic Islands, to close the German Consulate at Tangier, and to expel its staff and other Axis agents suspected of espionage or sabotage against us.

Actually the Franco regime owes its origin only in part to military aid it received from Italy and Germany during the Civil War. This aid has been much exaggerated, as that of Russia and France to the "Loyalists" has been minimised. The Civil War was primarily a Spanish affair, in which a half of the Spanish nation and more than half of the Spanish army supported General Franco.

. . . Nor, as I have previously explained, has General Franco's dictatorship been inspired by Nazi ideology or directed solely by Fascists; it has been more in the nature of a military dictatorship traditional to Spanish-speaking peoples.'

Mr Hayes also emphasises in his book the falsification of facts and history not only by the press but also in the State Department and says (p. 138): 'Unfortunately in other important agencies of our government and within the department itself, there were individuals who had only a partial, if any, picture of what was really happening and who substituted for it the caricatures provided by journalists.'

The truth of this has been convincingly illustrated by two recent parallel mistakes made by the State Department. These two mistakes consisted of the publication throughout the press of the world of two documents, parallel as regards their injustice, partiality, incompleteness, and their abandonment of the usual language and courtesy customary in diplomatic international communications; one was the incomplete and ex-parte publication of documents discovered in Germany concerning German-Spanish relations in the early years of the war, and the other the U.S. blue book on Argentine

affairs, meant to hinder the election of Colonel Perón as President, but actually giving his cause the very greatest assistance and increasing feeling in Argentina against the U.S.A. The Spanish documents had an analogous effect in Spain and materially strengthened the position of General Franco, which it was their object to weaken.

At the end of 1945 the 'Sunday Chronicle' published a series of letters from Hitler to Mussolini, which had been produced at the Nuremberg trials. One of these had such an important bearing on the accusation that Spain was the tool of the Axis that it is worthy of quotation. This letter, dated Dec. 31, 1940, says :

'Spain, highly disturbed by the situation . . . has turned down the collaboration with the Axis powers. . . . I am sorry because on our part we had completed all preparations to cross the Spanish border on January 10 and attack Gibraltar at the beginning of February.'

A further bit of evidence in the same direction came from General Jodl's trial at Nuremberg. In a lecture given by the General on Nov. 7, 1943, he gave three reasons for Germany's failure to attain victory by that date ; the third of these reasons was the failure to draw Spain into the war on Germany's side and thereby create the chance of seizing Gibraltar ; this was due, he said, to the resistance of the Spanish.

Lord Templewood's book, 'Ambassador on Special Mission,' which has been widely read, confirms to a great extent the facts about Spain and General Franco's determination to maintain neutrality as given by his contemporary in Madrid, Mr Carlton Hayes, but with some notable differences. Their respective descriptions of General Franco and his character are very different and Mr Carlton Hayes' picture is more in consonance with the General's history and the writer's remembrance of an interview with him in 1937. Lord Templewood commits sins of omission and among them that of not emphasising the important help given to the Allies by Spain in aiding and abetting the passage and escape of tens of thousands of allied combatants to rejoin the forces of their countries fighting against Germany. But the similarities of the two stories in impersonal matters are greater than the differences, which are probably caused by the distinct

backgrounds of the authors. Lord Templewood is a politician, his book is subjective, and he seems curiously to believe that he was the *deus ex machina* who kept Spain out of the war, while Mr Carlton Hayes' book is objective, as would be expected, for he is a trained historian and professor of modern European history at Columbia University.

Russia's powerful, clever, and active campaign of vengeance on Spain bore its magnificent harvest in U.N.O. and the preparatory conferences.

At San Francisco on June 20, 1945, the Mexican delegate, in an impassioned speech, proposed that Franco Spain should be excluded from membership of the new world organisation; a motion to include this proposal in the charter was defeated by seventeen votes to five, but it was unanimously decided that the original proposal should appear on the official records; this was a strange and alarming example of lack of principle and resort to camouflage.

In the previous month, on May 25, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French National Assembly unanimously recommended the French government to ask the allies to demand that General Franco should abandon power; this was a demonstration of Russian-Communist power in France, but General de Gaulle's government refused to support the recommendation. This, and later French action on U.N.O., showed how justified were the fears of Spain that frontier incidents or even an invasion of Spain by International Brigades of Communists from Southern France were dangers that had to be foreseen and provided against. Spain visualised a possible repetition of French and Russian armed intervention, such as had taken place in 1937, and it was a grave menace until the French elections of May 1946 broke the Communist domination of French politics. Spain's action of reinforcing her army on the frontier to meet the menace was justified by the various incursions of armed bands across the Pyrenees, to which little or no publicity was given in the press. This prudent action on the part of Spain, which would have been approved if it had been taken by any other country faced by a similar danger, was seized upon by her enemies and their propaganda cohorts as proof of her aggressive intent, though no sane person could visualise Spain invading an allied country.

After San Francisco the next Russian attack and victory over Spain took place at the Potsdam conference in August 1945, when the following declaration was made :

' The three governments feel bound to make it clear that they for their part would not favour any application for membership put forward by the present Spanish government, which, having been founded with the support of the Axis powers, does not in view of its origins, its nature, its record, and its close association with the aggressor states, possess the qualifications necessary to justify such membership.'

At the beginning of April 1946 the question of Spain was brought before the Security Council of U.N.O. for discussion on a motion proposed by the delegation of Panama, which was adopted with forty-five votes in favour, two against and two abstentions. It is only possible in the scope of this article to give the merest outline of the main motions and events that took place in the long discussions during the following months ; the protagonists against Spain were the Russian and Polish delegates, generally supported by the French delegate, while the British delegate, Sir Alexander Cadogan, refuted many of the accusations against Spain, though he seemed to think it necessary to express his detestation of the Spanish regime.

Poland moved a resolution calling on all members of U.N.O. to break off diplomatic relations with Spain and to declare that the Spanish situation ' endangers international peace and security.' A sub-committee consisting of Australia, Brazil, China, France, and Poland was then appointed to examine the statements and to report to the Security Council by May 17. During the examination no attempt of any sort was made to hear the plaintiff or obtain Spain's own evidence, but evidence was taken from many of Spain's accusers and even from Señor Giral, the president of the so-called Spanish Republican government in exile ; the most violent of the accusers was Dr Lange the delegate of Poland.

The report of the sub-committee was presented to the Security Council on June 2 and stated (' The Times,' June 3, 1946) :

' that the Franco regime is a " potential menace " to such peace and security, but not an existing threat, and proposed

that the case be referred to the General Assembly on September 3, with a recommendation that, unless the Franco regime is withdrawn and other conditions of political freedom are met, the Assembly call on the fifty-one members of the United Nations to break off diplomatic relations.'

The report was signed by Dr Evatt, the delegate of Australia and chairman of the sub-committee, but before presentation to the Security Council the following words were added: 'or alternatively such other action be taken as the General Assembly deems appropriate and effective in the circumstances prevailing at the time.'

On June 13 the debate on the report began in the Security Council and a clear-cut clash of opinions was shown. Mr Gromyko, the Russian delegate, made a long speech repeating the identical accusations made by Dr Lange; he challenged the legality of the findings of the sub-committee and threatened that, if stronger action against Spain were not taken, he would exercise the veto.

On June 17 in the resumed debate Sir Alexander Cadogan for Britain moved the recommendation that the Assembly call for the collective severance of relations with Franco Spain should be deleted; he expressed the grave doubts of the British government about the juridical right to interfere in the internal affairs of a country unless there was a clear threat to peace and he added that 'the British government had shown over and over again its detestation of the regime and had shared in every declaration condemning it.' Sir Alexander Cadogan's amendment was negatived and the motion was adopted, Mr Gromyko voting against and Dr van Kleffens (Holland) abstaining.*

The Polish delegate then notified his intention to move his original resolution (see above).

The long debates continued at subsequent sessions with the same division of opinions—Russia and Poland versus the other delegates and perpetually obstructing any unanimous decision. The Security Council rejected the original Polish resolution and the issue was narrowed down to finding the right form of words to express the desire voiced by various members to keep the question on the agenda of the Council and to leave the General

* 'The Times' Report.

Assembly free to discuss it in September. Against the ruling of the President of the Council, Mr Gromyko announced at the meeting of June 27 that he exercised his veto against the question being submitted to the General Assembly. The discussion then became confused and acrimonious and was described by 'The Times' correspondent in the following words: 'the confusion was such . . . that it is not certain what was voted and what was not.'

Among the offences of which Spain is accused is that her regime is a dictatorship, a police state, totalitarian and State controlled, a one party system, that she and General Franco were on the side of Hitler and Mussolini in the early years of the war and were their willing tools, that she had oppressive concentration camps, that political opponents were persecuted, that she sold wolfram and other materials to Germany, and finally that her regime is undemocratic.

Some of these things are true, others are false or exaggerated, and all could apply to other countries. It is oblivion to the principles of equity and fairplay, epitomised in the goosey-gander proverb mentioned above, that offends, and this can be illustrated item by item.

Is Spain a dictatorship with a one party system? So are Russia, her satellites, Portugal, and Turkey.

Is Spain totalitarian and State controlled? So are Russia, Yugoslavia, and other countries.

Was Spain on the side of Hitler and Mussolini? Russia was for two years on their side against us.

Had Spain oppressive concentration camps? Russia and her satellites have millions of unfortunates in theirs.

Are political opponents persecuted in Spain? They are persecuted by Russia, Yugoslavia, and other satellites.

Did Spain export to Germany? So did Sweden, Turkey, and Switzerland.

Is the Spanish regime undemocratic? There is no democracy in Russia or her satellites.

This is merely a comparison and is by no means meant to indicate that, in the writer's opinion, all things are perfect and rosy in Spain. There is undoubtedly political unrest, abuses, restrictions of liberty and, above all, the universal curses of inflation and excessive bureaucracy with the corruption that always follow in the train of this

last. There is a dangerous inflation with the accompanying spirals in prices and wages. Spanish statistics must be treated with discrimination, but official figures recently given state that the note circulation in 1945 was 18,000 million pesetas against 4,300 million in 1936. At the same time the present increase over 1936 in the cost of living is about 300 per cent. and the increase in wages over the same period is about 100 per cent. There has been evidence of excessive expenditure in the nation's budgets and in the nationalisation by purchase of the telephone company and other foreign investments, which are said to have exhausted Spain's foreign credits and make it necessary for her to obtain foreign loans. His critics say that General Franco has taken on progressively more of the unpleasant characteristics of the autocratic dictator, but the pictures of him are very contradictory, for another depicts him as consulting God on his knees before he takes any important decision.

After consulting with all sorts of people during my recent tour in Spain, I could not but come to the conclusion that General Franco is still the hero of many, perhaps the majority, as the existing guarantor of peace and order, the victor over Russian-communism and the man who kept Spain out of the war, and that the overwhelming majority of Spaniards including monarchists are in favour of the continuation of his power and regime for the present, for they fear that any change may again reduce Spain to the conditions of the republican regime and civil war; they have experienced the reign of terror and are determined not to repeat the experience.

In his speeches General Franco has consistently indicated that Spain is traditionally monarchist and must return to a monarchy, but no one can tell if power has now become too dear to him or if he truly considers objectively that the right time has not come for Spain to change her regime. It is evident that he and Don Juan have been unable to agree on the conditions under which the latter will return to Spain and he continues to reside in Portugal, while the prominent monarchists become more and more restless and are being persecuted. It is a problem whose solution has been postponed owing to foreign interference and the hostility to Spain of U.N.O. and of the world's press. Within Spain General Franco

and his regime were rapidly losing popularity, when the discreditable attack to which U.N.O. has lent itself consolidated Spain behind him and against a world organisation, which she would have liked to join if Stalin would allow her to do so. It is the prevention of this and the creation of international hatred and chaos that is Russia's object and so she backs Giral, whose chances of returning to govern Spain are negligible.

In July 1946 the press published a statement signed by 101 M.P.s which is a sad commentary on their knowledge and sense of obligation to their high office. They also express the fashionable detestation of the Spanish regime and repeat the old discredited story that the Popular Front government of Spain overthrown by General Franco in the civil war was legal, democratic, and constitutional. A modicum of study or the reading of de Madariaga's 'Spain' would tell them that it was none of these things and that the Giral republican government has no basis in legality. The facts are there for all who wish to learn, but I will recall a few items of the pedigree in the stud book of legality of Giral's government; it was sired by 'Force' out of 'Illegality.'

Giral's government descends from the Popular Front government of Spain, which Alcalá Zamorra, president of Spain at the time of its election, subsequently described as follows:

'The Popular Front obtained only a few, a very few, more than 200 seats out of a total of 473. Thus it became the largest minority group but did not secure a majority in Parliament. It managed, however, to obtain this majority by hurrying through two stages of procedure in defiance of all legality and with utter disregard to scruple.'

Further proof of the falsification of the election results by force is given in 'Spain' (pp. 340 *et seq.*) by de Madariaga. From the same source and many others can be learnt the many subsequent illegal infractions of the constitution.

So much for the legality of the source of power of the republican government in exile with Martínez Barrio as President of that republic and Giral as Prime Minister. This government and President were elected by a rump of the last republican Cortes consisting ('The Times,' August 23, 1945) of 94 members, which thereby broke the

constitution on which they based their existence in the following ways :

1. The regulations of the republican Cortes laid down that the assembly consists of one-half plus one of the number of its members. The number of deputies in the last Cortes was 473, so 94 members had no legal status.

2. The legal life of the Cortes was four years, which ended in 1940 and could only be extended by a permanent committee formed of all parties.

3. Article 58 of the constitution stipulates that the Cortes must meet in February and October each year for three and two months respectively.

4. Article 62 stipulates that a president must be elected by a body composed of the Cortes together with an equal number of electors chosen by universal suffrage in Spain.

5. Article 75 stipulates that when a president is absent (and the last one died in 1940) his place shall be taken by the speaker, but the date of his successor's election must be fixed within eight days.

Such is the pedigree of the government of Martinez Barrio, Giral, and company in Mexico, acclaimed as legal by 101 members of the mother of parliaments, and subsequently recognised by the governments of Mexico, Panama, Venezuela, Guatemala, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania. The direction of this variegated orchestra obviously came from Moscow, whence came the direction of the civil war on the republican side, the reign of terror, and the Cheka tortures.

It is not forgotten in Spain that Giral was the Minister of Marine when the red mutineers of the lower deck of the Spanish men-of-war murdered all their officers in Cartagena in 1936. Nor is it forgotten that these same republican exiles sent all Spain's gold reserves to Russia and took with them in their flight an enormous booty belonging to their fellow countrymen and that they are, directly or indirectly, guilty of the blood of tens of thousands ; it is also remembered that many of these men have been living in luxury in Mexico, England, and France on their spoils. It is insulting and foolish to think that men with such records are likely to be imposed by foreigners on independent Spain.

ARTHUR F. LOVEDAY.

Art. 3.—NATURE OPPOSED TO ARTIFICE.

IN a recent article I described the apparently natural recovery and, in some cases, the decline of certain wild species, and it might be interesting to widen this theme by considering the position of wild life generally as affected by modern civilisation. This subject has been creeping into the foreground lately under various guises, few of which amount to anything more than different phases of the perpetual struggle between the natural and the artificial.

From the outset, however, one point should not be overlooked. The expressions 'artificial' and 'natural' are generally used to describe the doings of humanity and other life, respectively, but the adjective reserved for everything done by man is not always quite applicable. Change or adaption as the human race spreads over the earth's surface is not necessarily 'artificial.' Up to a certain point, it is natural for man—a gregarious creature—to build towns as for ants to throw up their hillocks or coral polyps to construct atolls. Man defaces the countryside with his buildings. The osprey destroys the tree in which it makes its nest. But neither proceeding is entirely inimical to other forms of life. The homes of man house numerous creatures besides human beings—mammals birds and insects—even as the osprey's great pile provides nesting room for other species. Indeed, most of the birds seen about a village owe their existence to the houses, farm-buildings, and gardens in the shelter of which they were bred. Even cultivation and enclosure have provided innumerable animals with food and habitat in the banks and hedgerows. As certainly as there would be fewer house-martins without buildings, so there would be fewer grain-devouring and burrowing rodents without corn to eat and banks in which to live. The deliberate preservation of wild life, such as game or other animals in a reserve, is beside the point, being in truth 'artificial.' I refer only to indirect and usually unwilling help that civilisation has given to creatures with which it is fundamentally in conflict, and which it more often suppresses by equally indirect means.

While man's activities have proved a source of supply and protection to some wild animals, there are more to which his insidious monopoly of their living space means

extermination, gradual, perhaps, but certain. This has nothing to do with the direct conflict between forms of life whose contemporary existence is quite incompatible, but rather to the change that 'progress' effects automatically. When a rookery is felled, the rooks must go. When forest or fen is cleared, drained, and cultivated, its fauna can no longer exist, even without the more direct measures that often hasten extermination.

Everyone with experience will think of examples enough near home. There is the nightingale, not actually decreasing, but driven farther afield, which is often the first step towards decline. There is the barn owl, not persecuted above others—rather the contrary—but now rarest of his order in many districts, largely because the Dutch barn, the garage, galvanised iron, and slate have replaced the old-fashioned loft, shippoon, and thatch, quiet and dark, where he could lurk. Most typical, perhaps, is the cornerake, for whom the introduction of machinery brought banishment from much of the land. He suffered more than most ground birds because he nested mainly in the long mowing-grass. During the last quarter of a century I have watched his losing struggle in a part of East Yorkshire over which building has made rapid encroachment. Originally rough pasturage, it was a veritable home for cornerakes, a long ridge, running parallel with the sea north of Whitby, being particularly favoured. There the monotonous rasping cry accompanied the clock round, and I have heard more landrails there during one short walk than in all other parts of England combined. Unfortunately for the birds, however, the area also offered building potentialities, which were not overlooked. The grassy ridge developed into a populous suburb, still the landrail hung on with incredible tenacity, the call sounding throughout the summer nights actually among the new houses, wherever a few unoccupied acres remained. But the competition was too unequal. More and more houses sprang up, until the birds were literally crowded off their favourite breeding ridge, nor would they accept other ground although miles of open country stretched northwards. They merely faded out, and over the whole wide landscape the cry which was once so characteristic is now seldom heard.

Even as the partridge follows the plough, so other

animals recede before development, and this, in a way, is only consistent with the change of fauna effected by purely natural processes. When an old gorse-brake decays, and the ground that it covered reverts to rough grass, with it disappears the life that it sheltered. In reverse, as new forest grows, it brings the forest-loving bird and beast. Among the ruins of our blitzed cities plants and living creatures, quite alien to the previous conditions, have already appeared, and while the new towns that are planned will expel solitude-loving animals, the more spacious cities of the future will also become the homes of those birds which live at peace with man.

So far we have considered nothing but the inevitable decline or increase of wild life as automatically affected by man's increasing monopoly of the earth. The direct warfare between humanity and the wild is quite another matter, and here again it is necessary to avoid a common misconception. There has been, perhaps, too great a tendency to discount man as an operator of the strictly natural law. He is usually represented as contending with wild life in the scheme of which he has no part. Actually, of course, primitive man figured as conspicuously in the natural struggle for existence as any other member of the animal kingdom. He was an omnivorous creature, destroying anything that he could overcome, or being preyed upon himself by the great carnivores. As time passed, his superior intellect enabled him to acquire an ascendancy over most animals, but he remains as much the 'natural' enemy of wild bird and beast as when the competition was more equal. From the first he employed his brain against the more formidable physical equipment of the four-footed creature, and he does much the same to-day. The only difference is that while man is continually devising more lethal weapons, the wild animal remains unable to improve upon its armament, and can only develop new methods of defence by the slow process of experience from which 'instinct' in the generally accepted sense evolves. Devices for the destruction of wild life are invented far more quickly than Nature can formulate tactics with which to counteract them. Thus the American bison, accustomed to hold its own against the bow-and-arrow-equipped Indian hunter, went down like grass before the repeating rifles of the white men, and

as a rule, the game of new countries has stood no chance against modern settlers. So arose the almost invariable necessity for reserves and stringent laws for the preservation of animals which should have been adequately protected, one might have thought, by their habitat and very numbers.

Generally speaking, savage or natural man exterminated no other species, upon the same principle that one wild race has seldom completely destroyed another. Nature ensures against any such event. Man did not become deadly until he adapted the earth's resources to his needs in the way of mechanical and other scientific discoveries, and the precise stage at which the struggle ceased to be natural and became a competition between mind and matter is beside the point. In the situation which has developed, man fights wild life with his own mechanical devices, and since Nature has made no provision for the artificial, the wild creature is in the position of the crude Abyssinian warrior when attacked with poison gas. Even the tactics which he had developed for defence are turned to account against him, as, for example, when the collective and once irresistible charge of the bison only exposed them to the concentrated fire of the fur-hunters. One cannot but wonder whether the whale will survive the present unprecedented quest for blubber, with modern methods to facilitate the campaign. However safeguarded, a wide and sustained demand imposes a heavy strain upon the tenacity of any species, and precedent does not augur too favourably for the world's largest mammals.

Every problem that arises in the interminable man-versus-the-wild story is complicated by the animal's inability to help itself, or to meet any situation for which it is not mentally—meaning, in this sense, naturally—equipped. Recently, when the distress caused among seafowl was the subject of discussion, I heard a not unreasonable question: 'Why have birds never acquired an oil sense?' One might assume that a foreign substance on the water must be immediately apparent to aquatic creatures whose logical reaction would be to avoid contact with it. To steer clear of an oil belt should not be difficult with boundless space available. A similar psychological problem often confronts the garden-naturalist

when extricating blackbirds from a fruit-net. Surely the potential dangers of the net cannot fail to be realised by birds that have once been entangled, yet they return as often as they are liberated, to undergo the same terrifying experience. Briefly, they lack any instinctive fear of a net, even as sea-birds lack the initiative to avoid an oil belt, and these examples illustrate the rule rather than the exception.

Even more remarkable is the rabbit's inability to grasp the significance of the gin. Admittedly, systematic trapping is comparatively modern, but traps in some shape or form have been used longer than shotguns, concerning which the rabbit has very definite ideas. Upon this point at any rate experience leaves no room for doubt. Skilful tricks of evasion, and above all, knowledge of a gun's limitations, are displayed too frequently to be regarded as anything but habitual. Very different, however, is the reaction to the trap to avoid which the rabbit has developed no corresponding skill or degree of caution. Here again one might reasonably suppose that an animal capable of gauging the potentialities of a visible danger would soon learn to apprehend the far deadlier hidden peril at its feet. Down many generations now, the vast majority of rabbits have died horribly, the screams advertising the manner of their passing to all within hearing. Yet a rabbit is as easily trapped to-day as he was half a century ago, and the cry of the victim conveys no more to its fellows in the way of warning than did the snap of the first gin ever sprung. He lacks even the perspicacity to leave his burrow on the opposite side of the hedge from that where his relatives are screaming. But he forsakes the warren where a stoat is at work, or the thicket where dogs—which he can easily escape—often disturb him.

Without positive evidence to the contrary, one might be deluded into thinking that a rabbit's wits—admittedly scanty—are also blunt; that his eye is not discriminating, or that he even lacks the sense of smell. But he knows well enough where a stoat or a ferret has been. He is quick and vigilant, while a doe, when covering her nesting-burrow, displays a skill at camouflage unrivalled in the wild. That she works with a view to baffling any hostile eye is beyond doubt, and she so readily detects any

tampering with her own handiwork that—or so trappers declare—the slightest disturbance of, or alien scent upon the mould, as she laid it, prevents her return to the young, which also forfeit her care if touched by a stranger. Any idea that a rabbit does not see the earth with which a gin has been covered may be discounted offhand. Upon the contrary, fresh mould catches his eye very quickly, and instead of avoiding the spot as desperately dangerous, he is more likely than not to go and scratch in it. Indeed, trappers frequently break a little earth on purpose to attract rabbits, covering their gins in the soil. This is a regular professional trick, technically known as 'scraping.' Not only does the covered but perfectly obvious trap convey nothing to a rabbit, but he will often walk into one that is quite exposed, its principle being beyond his comprehension—or so appearances suggest.

Some animals react very differently to the trap and seem to know a great deal about it. Usually it is a matter of opposing instincts, occasionally of individual intelligence. Not long ago, in the hunting field, several people were watching a fox—not actually pursued itself—as it stole away from cover across a rough enclosure. Suddenly it sprang into the air, as if it had trodden upon hot ash, swerved from the runway that it had been following, and reached the fence by another path. This led to an inspection of the place and a curious discovery. Full in the original runway, at the point from which the fox diverged, was a square of loose earth, about the size of and precisely resembling a covered gin. No trap was there, which made the incident the more interesting. Conventionally, his nose is a fox's guide when detecting danger of such a description. Here, however, was neither tang of iron-rust nor taint of human hands. The little patch of earth upon which he was about to tread had caught the fox's eye, and he had appreciated its lurking menace. Clearly he knew what a covered trap looked like and was taking no chances.

A badger is always on the watch for some hostile contrivance as he trundles along his broad highway, and such careful count does he take of his footsteps, when upon unfamiliar ground, that of all the wild creatures that still haunt the English country-side he is the least likely to tread upon trouble. Indeed, he is more easily snared

than trapped, because, while watching his feet, he may thrust his head through the noose set at a higher level. Even this does not happen very often, however, and as a rule he survives to suffer—too frequently, alas—a worse fate. None the less, despite the scandal of his undeserved common fate, and imperative as is the need for action on his behalf, one may still rejoice that in the matter of the gin at least, he has matched his heavy wits against those of his persecutors—and with notable success in the main. One of the most experienced trappers in Devonshire tells me that in thirty years of work he has caught only one badger, as compared with hundreds of foxes, stoats, cats, and hedgehogs, not to mention unnumbered birds of every description.

One example of the badger's extreme caution was lately described to me by a farmer who is interested in Natural History. He had often noticed a badger-path across an open space in his woods, and when passing the place one day, a whimsical impulse induced him to erect a little hazel switch, which he happened to be carrying, in the middle of the runway. He thought no more about it until, revisiting the spot by chance a few weeks later, he was surprised to notice that the twig still stood as he had left it, and that the badgers had made a by-pass which skirted the obstacle by a yard or so and then rejoined the main thoroughfare. Grass was again growing on the original track, which no pads had trodden since the introduction of the stick. What it conveyed to the anxious brains of the wayfarers is known only to themselves. Possibly it merely suggested interference, or something in the way of a novelty which all wild animals distrust. A strand of string stretched around a poultry-yard is considered a barrier which few foxes will pass. In the case of the hazel-twig, however, one might have expected it to escape notice altogether, being little bigger than a straw. It still stands erect, and they continue to by-pass it in their old suspicious way.

One may wonder what would have happened had the stick been fixed over the mouth of a single hole inside which one of the badgers happened to be. In that event, the question of instinct opposed to necessity would have arisen. In order to get out, the badger could not have avoided contact with the stick, unless he enlarged the hole,

and to do so would have been quite consistent with his character. Nor is the situation envisaged by any means imaginary. Upon the contrary, it often arises. Many landowners desire the removal of badgers from their woods but are reluctant to destroy them. In such cases a notice to quit usually serves the purpose. A coil of wire, chain, or almost any oddment at all suggestive, according to badger lights, is placed in each hole. The badger gets out somehow, even if compelled to creep over the obstacle, but once safely outside, nothing will induce him to go in again. He prefers removal, leaving his furniture, or in plain words his bed, and general domestic arrangements behind him. So once again human strategy, not exercised destructively this time, prevails over instinct.

The direct conflict between instinct and necessity, or sometimes between instinct and appetite—pure greed, if the word seems more applicable—occurs frequently, and militates against the wild creature in its perpetual warfare with mankind. In the policy of surrender to necessity one can find no better exponent than the mole. Every gardener and farmer knows how difficult it is to catch a mole in soft ground, such as a flower-bed or deeply cultivated field. A mole may not recognise a trap in its full significance, but he regards it as something alien and, therefore, suspect. If he can avoid contact with it he will, and if the ground is easily boreable he works under or around the obstruction, as the badger by-passed the twig. If the trapper investigates, he will probably find the badger and twig story repeated in miniature. The mole has driven an alternative tunnel, which he uses whenever required, and so passes on his way rejoicing. Place the trap in the new passage and the mole promptly reopens the old. So it goes on, and once he adopts such tactics he is seldom caught—at that place. All ground is not soft, however, and sometimes the mole must cross frontiers, such as tracks or gateways, if he has business on the other side. Here the ground is consolidated from long compression, and the mole can only get through it by boring a passage just below the crust, which he lifts for the purpose, leaving a little ridge to betray his subway. That is the farmer's chance. One may reasonably assume that the mole is as fully aware of the trap in the gateway as in the flower-bed or open field, but different circum-

stances call for different procedure. He cannot burrow round the trap without great labour. He must either go through it or go back, and he is above all things a creature of habit. His time-table demands his presence on the other side. He takes his life in his hands—sets his teeth perhaps—and drives ahead. The iron jaws snap, and man's ability to profit from the animals' mental limitations has scored another triumph.

Upon the whole, appetite or greed is less easily exploited than necessity. Birds are most easily tamed by feeding when a positive need exists, as when tending young or during periods of severe cold. This applies equally when animals are lured to grief by baits, whether in the form of trap or poison. If trickery is suspected, the instinct of self-preservation usually proves stronger than purely gastronomic inducements. The owner of a large mill, where rats always constitute a problem, once told me that poison was useless. The rats knew all about it. They are also quite capable of discriminating between edible and lethal fare. I remember when red squill was mixed with bread and placed invitingly on a tin plate. The rats ate the bread but left the poison, neatly sorted out and piled in the centre of the plate—a point scored for instinct upon that occasion. The official whole-time 'rodent operators,' as they are now called, feed their rats for a week, to lull misgivings as to their benevolent intentions, before attempting the final imposition.

Probably animals are suspicious of poisoned food because, as a rule, it is offered in unfamiliar guise. When introduced into their natural fare, as flesh, in the case of carnivorous creatures, it appears to be taken more readily. On a South Devon golf-course some years ago a quantity of gulls were accidentally destroyed by the use of a worm-killing preparation on the putting-greens. The worms came to the surface and were picked up by the birds, numbers of which died on the spot. There is also a practice—fortunately subject to severe legal penalties—of scattering doped grain over newly-sown ground which rooks or woodpigeons are ravaging. The poisoned seed, being the most conspicuous, is picked up first—with deadly result.

Few animals lack the intelligence, or instinct—the distinction is immaterial here—to suspect the danger of a

baited trap, as proved by the more wary who frequently contrive to remove the bait, leaving the trap unsprung. Yet through this initial success and consequent relaxing of caution the animal is always lost. Man, with his more subtle brain, replaces the bait and sets the trigger more lightly. Here the wild creature falls a victim, not so much to its own limitations as to its enemy's knowledge of them.

A little knowledge is as dangerous to an animal as to a human being. A rapacious creature can recognise the cry of a trapped rabbit as well as anybody. He also knows that he can turn it to account, but his mental vision is not wide enough to enable him to weigh the advantage against the risk and to realise that the chances are uneven. The unfortunate rabbits, indeed, serve as live bait, and that is the reason why so many carnivorous animals come to grief on a line of gins which they would otherwise treat with respect.

Not long ago I was accosted by a local trapper with the question: 'What do you think I caught this morning?' Realising that it must have been something unusual upon the ground where I knew he was working, I hazarded 'an otter,' which proved correct. For the past week, he told me, some animal had been mauling his trapped rabbits. The manner of attack—straight to the heart from behind the shoulder—had puzzled him, being unlike the work of fox or cat. Since the nearest stream—the river Taw—was a mile away, however, the identity of the raider had not been suspected. It was not the first otter to get into similar trouble. Indeed, I recently heard of another case. That occurred, however, near the river, where one would expect it to happen. This time the surprise lay in the overland distance covered, presumably for the deliberate purpose. The case also provided the first positive proof, within my experience, of an otter systematically preying upon bigger game than fish or reptiles—a practical possibility always recognised, but usually as a point of controversy.

The instinct to avoid poison or trap has certainly evolved from generations of disastrous experience and is confined to wild creatures. Domesticated animals have no conception of either and suffer in consequence when accidental contact occurs. A dog's objection to medi-

cine, however cleverly disguised, is probably nothing more than a matter of distaste, and interesting only as proof of a keen perception that seems uncanny at times. It must be remembered that the slightest taint of paraffin is anathema to all animals, wild or tame. No question of poison arises here, yet the insatiable garden rodent will leave paraffin-damped seed unnibbled, even after scratching it up, while trappers declare that the use of ordinary machine oil on their gins renders them worthless for a long while, as nothing will go near them. The oil is feared more than the trap apparently, or dislike of the one exceeds fear of the other. Incidentally, this pronounced aversion, which seems to be general, makes the sea-bird's inability to avoid large expanses of floating oil all the more remarkable.

In the case of a bait again, racial idiosyncrasies are frequently exploited to effect the animal's undoing. An old device for catching the crafty wolverene, or glutton, was to hide the meat in a manner which suggested a store of food specially concealed from him. He would then take it, as a cat will steal food which it would refuse if offered, and observation inclines one to suspect a similar tendency on the part of many wild creatures. Garden netting certainly appears to attract birds which often make a dead set at netted fruit while ignoring unprotected crops of equal quality. In such cases, indeed, it is quite possible that the net actually draws attention to the fruit which it is designed to guard, and this in consequence becomes most desirable, because forbidden. Desire for the unattainable, like many other frailties, is commonly attributed to 'human nature.' More correctly they should be assigned to 'Nature,' which need not be human for the display of characteristics common to all flesh.

Indeed, too close a similarity of outlook is a primary reason for the contest of which this article is the subject. It involves a clash of interests without which there would be no competition, no *causus belli*. To the situation which has evolved there is no apparent end, unless in the extinction of all life against which complaint can be laid. Our communications in wartime required the sacrifice of the peregrine falcon. Agriculture passes sentence on rook, woodpigeon, deer (fallow and red), fox, rabbit, mole, and many more, the list being elastic at both ends. Fishing interests are hostile to seal, otter, heron, cormorant, gull,

and grebe. Afforestation has no place for roe-deer, squirrel, and blackcock. The game-preserve looks askance at everything carnivorous, while now even ornithologists, after century-long denunciation of game-preserve and agriculturist, are calling for 'control' of rapacious birds which might prey upon other species. The question has actually been raised as to the desirability of shooting cuckoos, to save the small birds, mostly meadow-pipits, whose broods are sacrificed to its maintenance.

Without any lapse from realism, one can envisage a future fauna composed of innocuous creatures and 'rarities' for the sake of which nothing inimical to them must be allowed to multiply. To date, birds have benefited in the main from the ever-increasing interest in ornithology. The place for wild life generally in the artificial, utilitarian world that is developing remains to be determined, however, and the policy of exterminating the blacklisted appears to be gaining too many supporters. Once established, this disease will spread, for there is nothing more infectious or insidious than 'precedent,' and few wild creatures lack accusers upon some ground or other. All considered, the war between the artificial and the natural looks like developing into a conflict of 'ideologies,' and only the animals that civilisation chooses to befriend stand much chance of survival.

DOUGLAS GORDON.

Art. 4.—RECONSTRUCTION IN ITALY.

A YEAR ago Italy was taking stock of her post-war problems. She had not yet had either the time or power to do much about tackling them. In the year which is just over she has had both. Twelve months is long enough to begin acting as well as thinking. And with the continued allied military withdrawal as well as the summer elections, the Italian government in Rome stands in a position of very much greater internal prestige and independence than it ever did during the first six months after the armistice. The worst troubles which face it are economic, even though it is the political problems that receive the main public attention and occupy most of the space in newspapers. Individual Italians, like so many of us, are tired of politics and long only for a stable government which will be strong enough to do something positive about salaries, prices, and the rehabilitation of trade. They are, however, deeply concerned also about their international position and their country's boundaries. There have recently been great changes in their outlook on these questions, the causes of which we must appreciate if we are to understand the new Italy that is arising.

The chief symptom of the change has been a growing hostility towards Britain. It is perhaps hard for anyone who has not been in Italy to understand the ups and downs of Italian feeling for this country. But for anyone who has, the background is clear, namely that even the war into which Mussolini took his country did not destroy innate Italian respect for Britain, British institutions, and British sense of justice. And the emotion which is now poisoning relations is nothing other than disappointment. The Italian position at the end of the war was more psychologically confusing than that of any other nation. Although in 1940 her government had declared war on us, against the wishes of more than 50 per cent. of the population, Italy genuinely did do a great deal during the last eighteen months of the war to 'work her passage' in the cause of the United Nations. And in this respect it was as much a natural hatred of the Germans as love either of Britain or America which inspired Italians to fight alongside their ex-enemies against their ex-allies. We in this country feel that in similar circumstances we

should have found such an action so contrary to our nature as to be almost inconceivable. But perhaps because we may regard the Italians as made in a different mould from ourselves, and because their latter-day allegiance suited and served us well, we do not always remember what effect this national *volte-face* may have had on the individual.

The effect has been to make him even less sure of himself than previously. And this has found expression in a burst of self-assertiveness, as a result of which many Italians have persuaded themselves that the part they played in the victory of the United Nations was both more consistent and more important than it is customary for us to regard it. Believing this, they feel that Britain has failed to appreciate them, has let them down at the Peace Conference, and generally has not justified the hero-worship in which they indulged. They are prepared to forget in a night the whole squalid story of the last ten years, so why not we? A revealing remark was made by Signor Nenni on his return to Italy from a visit to London during the early summer. 'While I found much sympathy in official circles,' he said, 'I got the impression that the people still remember that Italy tried to strangle the British Empire not so long ago.'

When the first news of the draft peace treaties came through from Paris, a wave of anti-allied feeling was manifested throughout Italy. In Rome, all shops and offices closed in protest for a quarter of an hour, traffic in the streets halted, and a mob demonstrated in the Piazza Venezia in front of the local allied military headquarters—directly across the square from Mussolini's famous balcony. In the tense city of Trieste, Italians seemed to forget what their position would be if Anglo-American arms were withdrawn, and booed military police, shouting, 'Go home. Get out of Italy.' A centre of the movement was the lovely town of Padua, which has become a hot-bed of anti-British feeling. There, the big bell of the university was rung for two days as a sign of national mourning, British and American flags were torn down, and students, led by the Rector of the University, staged a ceremonial burning of 'Alexander Certificates'—which were given to partisans who had distinguished themselves—before going on to wreck an officers' club. Middle-

class Italian people with English contacts are much less unreasonable, but are prepared to make fewer allowances than they were. The Milan working class is very hostile.

All this, it may be felt, is exceedingly unreasonable, considering that Italy ranks as an ex-enemy state, and should expect to be considered as such. There would be no need for surprise if Italian opposition to us had been consistent, if Italians had entered heart and soul into their war against Britain, and if having been defeated in battle they had continued to feel hostile and to act passively in as unhelpful a manner as they could. But this has not been the case. There is no question but that at the end of the war a very great number of Italians wanted the Allies to beat Germany, and were prepared to undergo sacrifices themselves in order to see the defeat of all that for which they themselves had nominally entered the struggle.

I have seen it written in widely read Italian newspapers that England deserves no sympathy from Italians because she has 'abandoned Italy' to her fate. And this theme, developed, as it frequently is, into quite unjustifiable vilification of this country, succinctly but naïvely expresses a trait in the Italian character which is often forgotten. Few people in the world can be as intellectually brilliant and cultured as the best in Italy. But it would be a grave error to imagine either that they are typical of the rest of their countrymen, or that in these difficult days they will necessarily be able to play a dominating part in their country's affairs. The plaintive attitude of much of the Italian press, and of the man in the street in Milan and other northern towns, is sometimes like that of a spoilt child.

In dealing with the two questions of Trieste and of reparations to Russia, some Italians speak of the decadence of England in conceding anything to the Soviets the full justice of which she is not prepared to agree to in principle. And while the relative decline of this country's status in the face of the two new giants, America and Russia, is certainly a feature of modern European politics compared with those of forty years ago, it is not from the point of view either of European politics or of morality that we are criticised in Italy. The hostile comment is based on Italy's purely self-centred concern, and little or no allow-

ance is made for the bigger need of some sort of terms with Russia if peace and stability are to be established in Europe. There are even those Italians who, hypnotised by the success with which Yugoslavia under Russian protection has succeeded in forcing her views on the Western Allies, are beginning to suggest that, whether communism is a good thing or not, it would be best in the long run if the new Italy also based her foreign policy on that of Moscow. The price, they ingenuously suggest, need not be great, and the reward—avoidance of Italy being a battleground when the next war comes along.

The boundary awards in Northern Italy, although two of them have been as favourable as Italy had any right to expect, have not all been received equally calmly. The first, and entirely favourable award, namely the Southern Tyrol, has shown the new republic in its best light. Recognising the claims of the Austrian minority, Rome has appointed one of them as local governor, and is conceding a large measure of local autonomy. Indeed, for all the agitation which has been caused by the Tyrolese question, the Tridentina is not an unhappy place compared with some others in Europe. I was in Bolzano immediately after the armistice with Germany and, travelling about in that beautiful region, spoke with many people. Some of the valleys are predominantly German and others immediately next to them are Italian. Signor R. in the Val di Fassa put it well to me.

‘We have had some anxious times,’ he said. ‘The last was just at the end of the war, when the Nazis included us in their proposed mountain redoubt area and began removing anti-fascists. But otherwise many of us have lived side by side here for generations without trouble. My father and grandfather were in this house before me, and although we are pure Italian we have been just as fairly treated by the Austrians as by our own people.’

On Sept. 5, 1946, an accord was signed in Paris between the Italian and Austrian governments whereby Italy gave certain guarantees in respect of her Austrian minority. The agreement was justifiably quoted by Mr Harold Nicolson, in one of that brilliant series of radio talks which he gave on the Peace Conference, as being an inspired if lonely example of what can be achieved when

there is goodwill on both sides. It was also regarded as a triumph for Mr Bevin's patient skill and his determination to make some amends to the southern Tyrolese for not being returned to their kindred Austria. There are now wise heads, both in Vienna and Rome, who favour the idea of an Austro-Italian customs union. If this were ever to take place, there can be little doubt that, while benefiting both Austria and Italy in general respects, it would go far towards a complete solution of the problem of the South Tyrol.

The second award, Trieste, was inevitably one which many Italians felt they could not accept without emphatic protest. The view of Italians who live in the town has for some time been that, since they cannot belong to Italy, they would like to be a 'porto libero,' free port. These Italians say that, come what might, they would rather fight than have Trieste in Yugoslav and so in Russian hands. Such an immense amount has been written and said about Venezia Giulia, that time alone can produce a decisive solution. In assessing the Italian attitude it is sufficient to note that on no other single point has the new young Italian government felt so strongly as seriously to threaten not to sign the peace treaty.

It is in respect of the third territorial award, that of the two little towns in the Alpes Maritimes, Tenda and Briga, to France, that much of the pent-up Italian feeling has been able to let fly. French insistence on this acquisition has disgusted Italians of all parties. What has France done, they say, to deserve bits of territory at the expense of Italy? What indeed? But would it not be better if Italians were sometimes given to examining their own actions from other people's points of view? Italy feels wounded and insulted by the French, but the very depth of her feelings may even be due to some unadmitted psychological recognition of her own guilt. Nothing in the whole history of the 1939-45 war exceeded in baseness the 1940 'stab in the back' on the Riviera when it had become certain that the Germans were over-running France. Even the invading Italian army was, by the subsequent accounts which its junior officers have personally given me, as grotesquely inefficient as it would be possible to imagine. Lacking food, ammunition, and mechanical transport through administrative incapacity,

the Italian soldiers slogged footsore along the sunny roads of 'conquered' Provence. And now if Italy conveniently forgets, how much greater her rage if France does not! The excitement has been the keener too in that everyone knows that strained Franco-Italian relations, while having a certain time-honoured tradition behind them, certainly now represent only a sideshow in Europe. Feelings can be vented here which in other directions might have much graver consequences.

Wherever you look in Italy politically, the question of Russia hangs like a sword of Damocles. It is a feature of Italian history that, for all the geographical isolation of the peninsula, its inhabitants have at nearly all periods played an important part in European culture and affairs. And to-day, as much as at any time in the past, Italians are eager to be accepted as an integral part of the West. They realise, more vividly even than some of us in Britain, the appalling dangers in all that is meant by the 'Iron Curtain.' As in France, the year 1946 in Italy saw the Communists fail to carry as much of the population with them as their opponents had feared they might a few months previously. But Italians are under few illusions with regard to Russia, and while the Communists certainly remain a living force, their position has nevertheless changed from that of a year ago. Then their numerical strength was unknown, and they were regarded with no little fear by the rest of the country; as a result, local tough tactics by gangs of their supporters were able to enforce a kind of political blackmail. To-day the fear of violent revolution is on the wane in Italy. Communism itself has lost some ground owing to Russo-Yugoslav demands in Venezia Giulia, and even a few Italian Communists themselves are anti-Russian. This latter paradox is partly due to the widespread contempt for Russian civilisation. Many hundreds of Italian troops fought in Russia during the war and the impressions they brought back were not good ones. None of this is to deny that the Communist party in Italy is well organised; it is, and it has money. But some measure of the country's recent political progress is to be found in the fact that although certain Communists may want revolution the likelihood of it is growing less.

It must never be forgotten that Italian politics are in

the long run subordinate to the country's economic position. And if great strides have been made politically during the eighteen months since the armistice, the same is not quite so true of economic affairs. The foundations of a powerful modern economy are coal, petroleum, and iron ore, and in so far as these are the very things which Italy most lacks, she has always in modern times been a poor country. Her chronic problem is that of poverty, and the physical destruction of a war fought on her territory has inevitably made it many times worse. In assessing Italy's difficulties a year ago, transport, food, and fuel were taken as her greatest needs. It is worth examining the progress she has made in these respects during 1946.

I said at this time last year that it would take ten years to reconstruct the railways. Since then the Italian State Railways have issued details of a four-phase programme which is calculated to take just ten years. In the first phase the main lines and all links with the principal sea ports will be rebuilt; these lines carried 68 per cent. of pre-war traffic. As regards restoration of electrification, priority is given to routes with heavy gradients and long tunnels. It is estimated that in five years phase two will also be nearly completed; this covers the less important main lines. And at that point it is hoped that the Italian railway system will be in working order up to pre-war standards in all essentials. The second five years will be needed to restore it to anything like its pre-war detail.

Certain immediate facts are of interest. Track mileage now shows a reduction of only $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on 1939. To accept this at its face value is, however, exceptionally misleading. In the first place many of the lines have only had emergency military repairs, which are quite useless in fitting them for heavy permanent service. And in the second place, many tracks though undamaged by war are worn out through lack of maintenance. The result of this is seen in the overall average speeds which for passenger trains are eighteen miles per hour and for goods trains twelve miles per hour; it now takes for instance only one hour less to travel from Rome to Naples than it did in 1864. These figures are, of course, partly affected by the shortage of modern steam locomotives and

rolling stock. Italy lost 30 per cent. of her goods wagons in the war. All trains are overloaded by peace-time standards, and it is a remarkable fact that, on a present total monthly train mileage which is one-third of the pre-war figure, the railways are now carrying as much as 40 per cent. of the 1939 commercial freight and—in acute discomfort—90 per cent. of the passengers. Rates and fares have not yet advanced by more than approximately eight times, compared with a general currency inflation of at least twenty times on 1939, and in consequence railway operations, even apart from the colossal sums involved in the reconstruction, are a drain on the Italian Treasury.

Road transport is in a much better state than a year ago. Admittedly the number of passenger cars on the roads is only one-third of the pre-war figure, but load-carrying vehicles are actually more numerous than in 1939. This observation must, however, be severely qualified by taking into account first, the relative age and inefficiency of many of the lorries; secondly, the fact that many private cars have been converted into small trucks and so count as lorries; and, thirdly, the desperate shortage of tyres and tubes. The big increase in transport is due to the sale of British and American surplus military vehicles, the importation of vehicles by U.N.R.R.A., and the handing over of German army trucks to the Italian government. Italian vehicle production, now just beginning again on any scale, is at the approximate annual rate of 10,000 vehicles of all kinds. It is perhaps symptomatic of the disorganised state of Italy that the most noticeable of the new vehicles have been sporting Alfa-Romeos for Milanese millionaires.

U.N.R.R.A. has saved Italy from starvation since the war. And it is a worthy reflection on the magnificent work done by that organisation that this ex-enemy country has received more supplies than any other in Europe except Greece, and has had more assistance money spent on it than any other except Poland and Yugoslavia. Food and clothing still absorb nearly the whole of the average Italian family's income, and it is in these two types of goods that the bulk of U.N.R.R.A. shipments have also been allocated. Food alone has accounted for 48 per cent. of the total. The prospect when U.N.R.R.A. ends its

work is not bright. The general estimate of the position is that if in Italy, as in other European countries, the work of agricultural rehabilitation can go into the middle of 1947, the coming year may possibly see cultivation and output back to a pre-war level. In Italy the 1946 harvest was a good one, but owing to limitations in the area sown, production of cereals only amounted to three-fifths of the normal pre-war amount. Comparison with 1945, however, shows progress, since slightly less than half the normal quantity was reaped in that disturbed year.

Even full agricultural production, of course, is barely sufficient for the country's needs, and it is one of the salient points in Italy's economy that she is not entirely self-supporting in food. In this respect she faces the same sort of problems as Britain and other over-populated countries, that in order to import food and raw materials, she must export other goods. Normally these mainly consist of fruit and market-garden produce, cotton manufactured goods, artificial fibres such as rayon, and woollen goods. They are accompanied by an important range of invisible exports, of which the three main items used to be steamship services, money sent home by emigrants, and the tourist trade. Not one of these vital sources now bears any relation to its pre-war figure. A certain amount of money is still coming from emigrants, but most of Italy's pre-war merchant marine is at the bottom of the sea or in the hands of other countries as reparations, and the tourist trade is still negligible for obvious reasons. Actual manufactured exports are exceedingly limited owing, first, to production difficulties through lack of both fuel and the necessary imported materials; secondly, to difficulties of transport; and thirdly, to the fact that over 50 per cent. of external trade, both incoming and outgoing, was done in European markets, and these are still as disorganised as Italian industry itself. Those in this country who doubt the hard but steady progress Britain is making to restore her trade position should study Italy's case. Any thinking Italian would give several years of his life to be relatively where Britain is to-day.

It may be wondered what part Italy's colonies played in her balance of trade, and whether their loss now aggravates her appallingly difficult economic position. But the

answer truthfully is that she is helped rather than hindered by losing control of her empire. In 1938, the last full year of world peace, Italy exported to her colonies nearly 25 per cent. of her total exports by value, but imported from them less than 2 per cent. of her total imports. This means in effect that by maintaining such a balance of payments favourable to herself she was diverting part of her national income to the colonies. Mussolini's expensive colonial policy was placing an extra burden on the Italian people of the homeland.

Food prices in Italy have increased more than 30 times over those of 1938. In the North the increase is about 33, in Central Italy 34, and in the South 36. These are open or black market prices, but as the official ration is often unobtainable, and in any case confined to only a limited range of foods such as bread, pasta, olive oil, and sugar, all classes of the community are obliged to make purchases at the high rates. Wages have also undergone great inflation, and in many respects have come much nearer to catching up with prices than they had a year ago. But even if this does at last make for some sort of reasonable relationship between many an individual's income and unavoidable minimum expenditure, the situation is still fluid, dangerous, and of immense hardship to a great many people. Broadly speaking, the rise in wage rates has been less than half that of prices, the higher income groups faring worse than the lower. The quantity of food available in the shops, as of other goods, does not at first sight seem short. Nor in Italy do you see the public held up to ransom as they are in England by the wicked evil of queueing. But the reason lies more in the lower standard of living and the lack of money than in any abundance. Many people in Italy to-day, both rich and poor, are still only making ends meet by selling off possessions and living on their capital.

Italy's fuel position has improved appreciably during the past year and, although lack of fuel is still one of the main brakes on industry, the past few months have seen the wheels of the northern factories begin to turn again. Before the war Italy imported about 12 million tons of coal a year, which, added to her own soft coal from Sardinia and a little anthracite near Turin, gave her the use of 12½ million tons. At present U.N.R.R.A. is providing

coal for Italy at about half the pre-war import rate. This is coming mainly from America and the Ruhr, the rest being from Poland, South Africa, and Britain. In addition crude oil is being imported and the refineries at Naples, Bari, La Spezia, and Porto Marghera have been reopened. The crucial question is what will happen when the U.N.R.R.A. shipments cease. Italian exports may have recovered sufficiently to pay for the purchase of a proportion of the food, raw materials, and fuel required, but it is quite certain that they will be unable to meet the whole cost.

A great many strikes have taken place in 1946, and it is one of the features of post-war Italy, as of other countries, that people are disinclined to settle down to work hard. Seeing Italy to-day, it is in some ways difficult to blame the Italian working man, although it is so abundantly clear that in fact he will only improve his lot by steady work and output. As things are, he earns an insufficient amount to keep up his standard of living, and he has little or no faith in the future. Given the right incentive, the Italian can be one of the hardest working men in the world. He is strong and long-suffering and simple in outlook. But because Italy is so over-populated, labour is cheap and the reward of work meagre. And while this makes the Italian housewife a thrifty woman, it is demoralising to the family as a whole, since no one sees any real possibility of living better however hard they work. To-day Italians are in a frame of mind where they want something for nothing, and rather than act on a recognition of the hard facts in front of them they prefer to wait for something to come along by which they can 'get rich quick.' Of course it never comes. And as the country slowly settles down to rebuilding itself, much of the dissatisfaction and frustration is expressed in brief but frequent and usually futile strikes. One of the most typical of these, and most inconvenient to everyone else, has been that in the hotel and catering trades.

During that bright, dusty springtime of the Cassino campaign the American poet, Auslander, dramatised his G.I. countrymen in battlefield verses, among which I have always remembered these lines :

' A soldier at the feet of God
Kneels and thinks of home—
His helmet on the cratered road
That runs in blood to Rome.'

And I have often thought how many times in history these very same words could have been applied—to other armies and other men. For the history of Italy has contained a series of wars such as few other lands can equal. The road ' that runs in blood to Rome ' is one down which the Italians have marched in passion and violence for longer than they can remember. And if it was not always their own blood which was spilled it was that of men from other lands. Small wonder it is then that in Italy many problems are even now confused by passion and tackled without regard to the facts. ' The lack of a sense of reality among the Italian people,' writes Corrado Alvaro, ' is something which stupefies every observer.' And whether it be in the claim of the partisans to special peacetime rights or the assertion by the Italian government that Italy should be treated as a victor nation, the same disinclination to recognise all the facts can be seen. Most British people who know the Italians love what they know. But he would be a foolhardy Englishman, I think, who would say that for a number of years yet life in Italy will be anything but hard and exacting for most of the citizens of that pleasant and beautiful land.

RICHARD GOOLD-ADAMS.

Art. 5.—SOFT JUSTICE.

It is an old criticism of the administration of criminal justice in this country that we have every reason to be proud of our criminal trials up to the moment when the decision as to innocence or guilt is reached and every reason to be ashamed of them after that verdict. Our courts, it is said, take five hours to determine what is in many cases the simple question as to whether the prisoner is innocent or guilty and five minutes, after his guilt has been decided, to resolve the infinitely more difficult problem of what to do with him. The gibe is no doubt exaggerated. But there is a substratum of truth. While there are the most elaborate rules of evidence and of procedure designed to ensure the fairness with which our trials are conducted there are only the scantiest usages governing the decision as to sentence.

For many years it has been widely recognised that the penal methods of the nineteenth century were stupidly cruel and wrong. Even during the second half of the century our prisons were by the standards of to-day places of horror, with a regime and discipline designed to be solely punitive and deterrent. The long sentences commonly passed by the judges, served in such surroundings, had the effect of so brutalising prisoners as to make it often impossible for them to earn an honest living after their discharge even when they wished to do so. The system was alike cruel to the offender and contrary to the public interest since it swelled the ranks of that grievous burden on society the persistent criminal.

From this harsh severity of the recent past the pendulum has swung back very far. Offenders of to-day are bound over who even thirty years ago would have been committed to prison as a matter of routine. When imprisonment is thought necessary the judges of the early years of this century would stand astonished at the short sentences of to-day, as indeed the then prison governors would be aghast at the relative comfort and mildness of the present-day prisons.

To-day when a court imposes a monetary fine the offender is given time and encouragement to pay, whereas up to thirty years ago the normal alternative to immediate payment was committal to prison. But nothing shows so

forcibly the wholly altered conception of the right approach to the offender as the complete change in our treatment of the young delinquent. It seems hardly possible that little more than forty years separates the children serving their sentences in adult prisons and the boys in the approved schools of to-day. It seems barely credible to a man of early middle age to-day that in his own lifetime small boys of ten and twelve years of age, clad in ugly garments covered with broad arrows, should have been sent to serve sentences amongst adult prisoners. Let anyone who doubts the facts read 'The Case of Warder Martin' in which Oscar Wilde describes three small boys with him in Reading prison, frightened, hungry, and crying bitterly for the twenty-three hours of the twenty-four for which they were shut up in a dimly lit cell. It is a striking example of the progress made in little more than a generation to visit the modern approved schools, with their playrooms and playing fields, spotless dormitories, and airy class-rooms.

No sensible person suggests that in the treatment of offenders the State should return to the old-time severity from which our humanity recoils and which experience has proved to be ineffective for the purpose for which it was instituted. A prisoner who is released from confinement broken and embittered is a liability and not an asset to the community.

So much may be gladly admitted. But, in view of the serious statistics of crime which persist to-day as a legacy of the lawlessness resulting from war conditions, it is wise that our present methods of treatment should be examined afresh. If, as is agreed, the reaction against the blind cruelty of fifty years ago was right and discerning it is still reasonable to inquire whether the pendulum has now swung back far enough. While all painful punishment inflicted by the State upon lawbreakers is wrong if it serves no useful purpose, any leniency of treatment so excessive that it neither protects the community nor checks the wrongdoer is no less mistaken and unpractical. It is clear enough that there are two extremes, of harshness and of clemency, and that both are bad, alike from the viewpoint of the community and of the offender. That a treatment so severe as to break an offender in body or spirit is bad needs no further argument or proof. But it

is not so widely recognised that very often treatment is harmful to the offender and injurious to the State just because it is not severe enough. Where mercy is carried to such a point that it becomes weakness the effect in many cases is to corrupt the offender as effectively as any harshness, though from a different cause. The offender is led to offend again in such cases because he is encouraged to believe that to break the law brings no resulting punishment and that he will have nothing to fear. It is in the public interest that this consequence should be recognised, since the like evil to the community is done when an offender is harmed by his treatment whether the harm is done by too much severity or by too much sentimentality. Indeed, where a court is foolishly lenient there is an additional danger: not only may the offender himself be led to think he risks nothing by repetition of his wrongdoing but other potential offenders may similarly be emboldened to commit crimes for which they think no punishment is likely to be exacted.

No one could pretend that the situation disclosed by criminal statistics to-day is satisfactory. The war has been over for nearly two years and the abnormal conditions, such as the blackout, the bombing, evacuation, and the rest, which were so confidently quoted as the explanation and the excuse for much crime during the period of hostilities, no longer obtain. Yet for some time past the average daily population of the prisons of this country has been about 16,000, despite the reluctance of the courts to pass prison sentences, while immediately before the war the corresponding figure was less than 11,000. Those figures refer of course to *adult prisoners*, but the melancholy tendency is to be found in those relating to *adolescents*. In May 1946 the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords disclosed that the number of persons under sentence of Borstal detention was 3,391 while at the same time there were a further 1,209 young people under the age of twenty-one in ordinary prisons. The rise in the numbers of committals to Borstal institutions was considerable and was still continuing. There was a 20 per cent. increase in 1945 as compared with the year before the war. The very large increase of offences amongst *juveniles* which has taken place since the first year of the war is sufficiently well known to make it unnecessary for me

to quote precise figures to support the opinion that there is at least room for inquiry whether the juvenile courts are handling their most difficult problem with the greatest possible degree of skill, firmness, and success. Some recent figures compiled by the London County Council showing the position in London are at once instructive and alarming. The juvenile courts in London are composed of magistrates specially selected by the Home Secretary for their knowledge of children, and they have before them a far larger number of cases than are heard elsewhere. With so much greater experience, therefore, it is natural that the London courts have the reputation of being the most efficient in this country. Yet the figures are not reassuring. They show that in 1938-39 the total number of boys found guilty of larceny and like offences was 3,654. Of this total, 2,503 (or 68.5 per cent.) were first offenders and only 31.5 per cent. had been previously charged. In 1945-46 the position had seriously deteriorated. Despite the fact that a considerable number of London children had not yet returned from evacuation the total number of boys found guilty of these offences had risen to 4,172 of whom only 2,486 (or 59.6 per cent.) were first offenders, and no less than 40.4 per cent. had been guilty at least once before. The case of girl offenders is far worse. In the same years the number of girls found guilty of these offences rose from 205 to 495, and whereas in 1938-39 the proportion of those previously charged was only 29.3 per cent. it rose in 1945-46 to almost exactly double that figure at 58.4 per cent. These figures relate only to such offences as larceny, etc. While I have found no actual statistics to guide me I am confident that the figures during the war years have been even worse in the increase of girls found guilty of being beyond control or found to be in moral danger and in need of care or protection.

It would appear that the methods even of these experienced courts were insufficiently robust either to check fresh offenders or to deter those already found guilty from the commission of new offences. It is of course arguable that the unsatisfactory position disclosed by these figures is due to causes beyond the control of courts. I am myself however inclined to the view, which in my submission is supported by the cases which I quote in illustration, that a large proportion of juvenile offences are

due to the excessive leniency of justices. I make clear at once that I do not advocate indiscriminate severity. Especially do I reject judicial birching by juvenile courts. Experience has shown both these measures to be ineffective. But the lesson I have learnt from an examination of the records of a good many adolescent and adult offenders is that foolishly kind treatment by a court not only can, but only too surely does, encourage a further act of wrongdoing.

If we accept the view indicated by those figures that our present methods are not attaining a sufficient measure of success in deterring offenders, it is at least worth while to consider in particular whether the courts are giving the necessary instructed thought to the matter of their sentences, and in general whether the attitude of the public towards the lawbreaker is not guided less by wisdom and commonsense than by a facile but foolish sentimentalism. As a small but revealing instance of the general attitude, one may point to the columns of the popular Press when a convict escapes from prison. Day by day his continued freedom, his narrow escapes from recapture, his daredevil elusiveness are recorded for the admiration of millions of readers. Nothing is said of the sordid record of crime which brought the man into prison or of the further house-breakings and thefts by which he maintains himself at large. It is all very picturesque and romantic but it is not the way to stamp out crime. Nor is it the view taken by the unhappy householders of the neighbourhood who live under a reign of terror until the convict is caught and taken back to complete his sentence. It is not difficult to find examples of this form of silliness. A short time ago, in their own interest and solely to reduce the time they were forced to spend in adult prisons, the Home Secretary moved a number of young men sentenced to Borstal detention to temporary quarters, converted for the purpose, in the old prison at Princetown. The newspapers were deluged with letters of protest. It was monstrous, said the writers, that 'boys' should be sent to Dartmoor; cruel that 'lads' should go even temporarily to a building with the atmosphere of a convict prison, although admittedly the regime was that of a Borstal institution; if no proper buildings were available they should be built at once rather than allow 'mere boys' to be sent to so

dreadful a place. Such indignation did immense credit to the hearts but rather less to the heads of those who protested. The young men selected for Dartmoor Borstal institution were of the older and the tougher types. Prisoners are eligible for a Borstal sentence up to the age of twenty-three, and the sentence is one of three years. Obviously enough, it is preferable that those committed to Borstal should have the advantage of buildings built for, and not merely adapted to, a Borstal training. But to suggest that young men of the ages from twenty-one to twenty-five, with the criminal records of the more hardened type of Borstal youth, will be harmed by spiritual association with a former convict prison shows a pathetic ignorance of the thorough young rogues with which those who control Borstal institutions are sometimes called upon to deal.

Sometimes these illustrations of weakness disguised under the more pleasing names of sympathy and understanding come from those who should know better. Thus, a few years ago the woman chairman of a juvenile court committed herself in print to the opinion that it 'was surely right that as a general rule magistrates should first try every other method of treatment and only commit a young offender to an approved school in the last resort.' What the lady actually meant I do not know. Taken literally, what she said meant that as a general rule magistrates should not use the valuable and often essential training and discipline of an approved school unless the offending child had for previous offences been discharged, bound over, fined, birched, and placed on probation. It is not by such pretty conceits that the problem of juvenile delinquency will be solved.

It may possibly be thought that although there are justices in plenty who express these views which take into insufficient account the serious mischief done by criminal offences, and which apparently give no heed to the necessity of protecting their innocent victims, yet no courts or magistrates would in practice fall into these errors. I therefore set out a few illustrative cases which I have myself come across. They are comparatively recent, and each is typical of similar cases which occur in the courts every day.

A.B., age 21. Serving when I met him a sentence of Vol. 285.—No. 571.

9 months for housebreaking. At 14 he was found guilty of stealing a bicycle and was bound over. At 15 he was again found guilty by the same juvenile court of stealing a bicycle and was placed on probation. At 16 he was for the third time convicted of stealing a bicycle and was fined 40s. From 16 to 20 he had no convictions but was reported as associating with boys of bad character. At 20 he was convicted of housebreaking, and was given 9 months as stated. In my submission, every sentence passed on this young man was wrong: each successive court in turn treated him in such a way as to encourage him to offend again. Thus, in my view, it is never right to bind over a boy of 14 for serious larceny without putting him on probation: he is not old enough to understand the meaning of what is done and imagines merely that he has 'got off': it is almost inevitable that he will argue that next time he will be more careful not to be found out, but that anyway it does not matter much as all he has to fear is another lecture from the magistrates. The decision to put the boy on probation for his second theft may be defended, but the fine of 40s. for the theft of a third bicycle was absurd. What could the boy think save that bicycle stealing was a profitable occupation with very small risk attached to it? I have no doubt that between 16 and 20, with a wide experience behind him, he stole many more bicycles without being discovered. At his third conviction he should have been sent to an approved school, when he would have received three years' much needed training in character and have had no opportunity of 'associating with boys of bad character,' as he was, in fact, left free by the court to do. Finally, when, as was quite inevitable, he graduated into more serious crime at 20, the court of Quarter Sessions behaved with the greatest foolishness in giving him a short sentence in an adult prison: he should have had a sentence of three years' Borstal training. Thus do we manufacture criminals.

C.D., aged 21, lorry driver, convicted of larceny from a garage. As a boy of 12 he was found guilty of a small theft by a juvenile court and placed on probation. At 15 he was again found guilty of stealing, and again placed on probation. When at 21 he appeared before the adult court, it was stated that he had helped himself to a number of torches, tools, and similar articles at a garage to which he

had gone on his employer's business and had then driven away. His mother pleaded for him, saying that he was a good boy and her principal support. The magistrates bound him over to be of good behaviour for 12 months. Here was a young man who had stolen three times and had suffered no penalty whatever. For his last theft there was no excuse as he was earning good wages and stole merely because he coveted the things he took. In my opinion he should have been fined a substantial sum, say 10*l.*, and given three months to pay. If the fine meant that he could neither smoke nor drink during that period that would be a salutary lesson to him.

It would be tedious to multiply instances of what, in my view, is the mistaken weakness not only of juvenile but also of adult courts. I do not for a single moment advocate unthinking severity. But I am concerned to emphasise those two dangers of excessive leniency, the first that the offender himself may not be deterred from a further offence, and the second that others who see or read of the mild methods of the local court may be tempted to think that they have nothing to fear, at any rate the first time they are caught. My suggestion that total exemption from punishment for a first offence leads very frequently to further crime is not a fanciful one. I have been told by more than one man in prison that he was tempted to commit a second offence because he thought there was nothing to fear. I have myself no doubt at all that a well-deserved reputation by a local court for excessive leniency towards first offenders has similarly led many to their first venture into crime.

Many would not take the first plunge if they thought that even for their first offence they risked a substantial punishment. Moreover, the crucial importance of this first wrong step in a young man's life cannot be overstressed. *C'est le premier pas qui coute.* Once he has taken part undetected in a successful robbery he is never the same again. With the optimism of youth he counts his gains, and the fear of detection recedes ever further into the background.

It is a common experience to find at Quarter Sessions that four out of every five prisoners are under the age of twenty-four, and that almost every one of them has previous convictions. They have not to-day the excuse

of poverty or unemployment and, most unhappily, at that stage of a young man's criminal career there is scarcely any alternative to some form of imprisonment. The records of these men as they come up for sentence disclose in case after case the same story of either no punishment at all or of only trifling punishment for the first two or three offences. Indulgence carried so far becomes in its results cruelty to youths who, treated more wisely and firmly, might well have been checked at the beginning of their wrongdoing. The normal reaction of the criminal courts towards theft—more than nine out of every ten charges against youths are of some form of theft—should be that it is a serious offence which calls for punishment. The accepted rule should be that he who steals should suffer for so doing. Only when the special circumstances of the case justify an exception being made should the normal course not be followed. Thus, where it was shown that there were circumstances of great poverty, of ignorance, or of extreme temptation the law might legitimately and reasonably be merciful. Whenever the court found sufficient grounds to justify a decision not to follow crime by punishment it should announce publicly what those grounds were. The mere fact that it was a first offence should not *in itself* suffice to entitle a defendant to nominal punishment.

Such an attitude by the courts appears to me to be perfectly in accord with the moral law and with a wholesome state of public opinion. It would afford greater protection to persons who are robbed than does the present practice, and in the end it would be more merciful to first offenders and to potential offenders. I do not suggest that young men should be given prison sentences unless they are absolutely unavoidable. I do suggest that in a very large proportion of cases where offenders now go virtually unpunished they should be made to suffer, either by the imposition of a fine heavy enough to be a real penalty, or otherwise. If new forms of punishment are needed, Parliament must provide them.

If it is wrong, as I have suggested, to treat first offenders so indulgently as to let those who contemplate a first venture into crime imagine they have nothing to fear, so, on the same principle, is it wrong to allow those who do commit further offences to continue in the belief that even for

repeated crimes nothing very serious will happen to them. If offenders refuse to take heed of short sentences it is surely right that a court should try the effect of a long sentence as a deterrent, provided of course that the offence is one of sufficient gravity. Even if the long sentence fail to deter it will afford a greater protection to the innocent victims of the persistent offender. The late Mr Justice McCardie called attention to the absurdity of repeated sentences of six months even for the eighth or ninth offence of dishonestly. Lest it may be thought that what seemed to the learned judge an absurdity no longer occurs to-day, I give the details of the sentences of a young man of twenty-five whom I recently met in a prison.

E.F., age 25. His first appearance was in a juvenile court when at the age of 15 he was sent to an approved school for two cases of stealing fowls from a fowl house. At the age of 18, very soon after leaving the approved school, he was convicted of stealing a bicycle lamp and was bound over to be of good behaviour for 12 months. At the age of 24 he was convicted of stealing a bicycle and for this, and for six other offences which he admitted and which he asked to be taken into consideration, he was given a sentence of 6 months. In the same year, shortly after his release from prison, he was convicted of stealing a jacket and other articles and was again given 6 months. A few days before his 25th birthday he was again convicted of stealing a bicycle and was awarded another sentence of 6 months. A year later he was once more charged, this time with stealing a collecting box from a public house with a second charge of stealing clothes from a clothes line. He admitted and asked for three other offences to be taken into consideration. The bench sentenced him to 6 months' imprisonment.

This is a case more remarkable than that envisaged by Mr Justice McCardie. He gets six months not for his eighth offence but after seventeen offences. Could he be more clearly told by the court that so long as he confined himself to the theft of such things as bicycles he had nothing worse than a six months' sentence to fear? And, in view of the fact that there is a remission of one quarter of the sentence for good conduct in prison, is this sentence an adequate protection to the community? It is perfectly true that by no single crime does this type of offender

defraud any one person of any large sum. But he is a man who deliberately chooses to live by crime and in the aggregate his frauds are not negligible. It is a common experience to find men who specialise in small thefts or frauds which they commit repeatedly. An extreme case was that of a man sentenced for memorial plaque frauds on the relatives of men killed in the First World War who asked for 232 similar offences to be taken into consideration.

There remains one type still to be considered—the professional criminal. By this term I do not mean the man who falls into crime, no matter how many times, through poverty, or mere weakness or human frailty, but who would prefer to live honestly and sometimes between his recurrent convictions has considerable gaps of honest work. I mean the man with a soul above honest toil, who deliberately and of preference has set himself to live by crime and by preying on the community. This class includes such men as the large-scale receivers, the organisers of such crimes as smash and grab raids, wholesale fur robberies, and warehouse breakings, the expert safe blowers, and those who carry out wholesale thefts of clothing coupons and similar offences. These types of crime are not unpremeditated. They necessitate very careful planning, detailed reconnaissance of ground and buildings, arrangements in advance for the disposal of the property stolen, and the services of an organised gang.

Practically speaking, these men are irreclaimable. They will never be other than a burden and a menace to the public. In my submission, our present treatment of them is both illogical and unfair to the community.

These are dogmatic statements which need to be justified. The latest Report of the Prison Commissioners shows that in 1940 no fewer than 674 persons were received into prison who had previously served sentences of penal servitude, i.e. sentences of not less than three years. Of these, 96 persons had previously served four or more such sentences. In 1941 out of 639 persons received into prisons with previous penal servitude sentences 59 had previously served four or more such sentences. This bears out my contention that there are an appreciable number of men convicted of serious offences, for which alone penal servitude is awarded, who return to crime as soon as they are released. If their records were examined it would be

found that each of these men had served a number of shorter sentences in prison before receiving his first long sentence of penal servitude. Thus in 1940 no fewer than 1,154 men were sent to prison each of whom had previously served more than 10 prison sentences. The corresponding number in 1941 was 1,107 men.

Let me illustrate the type by an actual case of a convict whom I met in Dartmoor. G.H. was a man about fifty years of age, very pleasantly spoken and a highly skilled mechanic. He had some ten previous convictions and was nearing the end of his third sentence of penal servitude for burglary when I met him. He expressed a determination to go straight on his release and a post was found for him with a big London firm who were ready to give him every chance. They found him to be an excellent workman and in nine months he obtained two increases of pay and was under consideration for appointment as a foreman. He was then arrested while actually committing a burglary and when his lodgings were searched the part proceeds of three other burglaries were found, the first committed only six weeks after his release from Dartmoor.

The mischief which the professional criminal does is twofold. In the first place, he carries out all the big robberies in which the loss is counted not in hundreds of pounds but in thousands. In the second place, the professional gangs constantly need new members and recruit from amongst those on the threshold of crime who might otherwise be saved. Once attached to a gang there is little hope for them.

Although what I have described as professional crime is not decreasing, long sentences are becoming more rare. In 1941, the last year for which figures are available, the total number of sentences of 5 years and upwards was 124, and in addition there were 7 sentences of preventive detention. The same statistical table shows that as late as 1913 there were 226 sentences of 5 years and upwards and in addition 67 sentences of preventive detention.

In the light of what I have said, the following case is instructive. It is very recent and the young man is even to-day only twenty-seven years of age.

J.K. was convicted at the age of 17 of stealing tinned goods and was bound over. When aged 20 he was found guilty of the theft of petrol and was sent to prison for one

month. A month later he was convicted of shopbreaking and larceny, and of storebreaking and larceny. For these two offences he was sent to Borstal for 3 years. He was at this time a serving soldier but was discharged from the Army. He was not convicted again until he was 24, when he was found guilty of stealing 5 bales of cloth and 30 bales of silk. He was given a sentence of 3 months. When he was 25 he was convicted of shopbreaking with intent to commit a felony. This was a smash and grab offence for which he was sentenced to 9 months. In the course of this crime an innocent bystander was killed by the car in which J.K. and his companion were escaping, and for this J.K. was subsequently tried for and convicted of murder. He was reprieved and is serving a life sentence.

It is improbable that J.K. would ever have made a valuable citizen, but certainly every effort to confirm him in being a bad one was made by the courts which sentenced him. It is a mistake to bind over a youth of seventeen for theft: he merely believes he has got off. A bench of borough justices having made this mistake, a bench of country magistrates made the far greater one of sending a young man of twenty to prison for one month, long enough to familiarise him with prison and not long enough to do him any good. The uselessness of the sentence is shown by the fact that within a few days of release he commits two more serious crimes. After his Borstal sentence he is again convicted of the theft of bales of cloth and silk. He is clearly on the way to become a professional but again he is sent to prison for three months, on this occasion, I regret to say, by a stipendiary magistrate. The only hope of saving this young man from habitual criminality, and that a faint one, would have been to have given him a comparatively long sentence during which he might have been trained. The three months' sentence was useless, as was shown by his smash and grab offence committed within a few months of his discharge from prison. Finally, from the point of view of the community, what could be more foolish than to give him nine months for his last offence? Had it not been for the death of the bystander, which was unpremeditated, allowing for remission for good conduct, he would have been released in a trifle under seven months. For good reasons the State may wisely and mercifully condone a past offence, but what reason exists in this type

of case for loosing a dangerous criminal on the public without any attempt to ensure that he is fit for liberty ?

Cases such as this could be multiplied indefinitely. Each short sentence in turn acts as an easy graduation into the ranks of the persistent offenders. Our present system, or lack of system, does not protect the public. It is common to find a man with ten previous convictions asking for a number of other cases to be taken into consideration in addition to his present offence, and being given eighteen months or two years. The Criminal Statistics for 1930 record a man convicted of house-breaking who asked for 315 other cases to be taken into consideration. He was sentenced to five years' penal servitude, which meant that in a little over three years and a half he was returned to the exercise of his profession.

It should now be possible to summarise the conclusions to which one is led by a survey of the various types of offenders.

While first offences should not be minimised, every possible effort should be made to avoid sending a man to prison for the first time.

When a prison sentence is unavoidable, the very short sentence should be abandoned. It brands a man with the stigma of prison, it leads to loss of employment, and it is not a lasting deterrent. A succession of short sentences are an encouragement to crime.

For the professional the really long sentence of ten years and upwards is essential. It is an effective deterrent—it has stamped out coining and the carrying of arms by burglars, for example. Even if it does not entirely deter, it completely protects the community for the period the criminal is in prison.

The only class for which I suggest that these long sentences are necessary is that of the professional criminals. As long ago as 1901 Mr Justice Wills described the type in a letter to 'The Times,' 'Men who follow crime as the business of their lives, who take it as a profession, who calculate and accept its risks, who have entirely ceased to work, if they ever did work, and never mean to do so. No punishment will alter them, and the moment they are released they begin to practise crime again.' Sir Robert Anderson, a former Chief of the C.I.D. at Scotland Yard, said in 1907 that to shut up for life no greater number of

such foes of society than could be confined in a single wing of one of our prisons would make 'an enormous difference in the tale of organised crime against property in England.' It is surely mere sentimentalism to raise the objection that long imprisonment is cruel or inhumane in the case of these declared and pitiless enemies of society. Let the conditions of their imprisonment be as mild and as little onerous as may be. But let them be held in security so that they may be powerless to do more evil.

Amongst the problems of a post-war world the wise treatment of delinquency is one. It is, indeed, one of considerable importance. In view of the statistics I have quoted it would not be easy to suggest that no improvement of our present system is possible.

LEO PAGE.

Art. 6.—*LE JOUR VIENDRA*.

'*Le Jour Viendra*' is the motto of the Lambton family, and it was well fitted to inspire John Lambton 1st Earl of Durham, a man whose mind constantly looked towards the future and who in all the great measures of reform with which he was associated saw no final solutions, but only steps along the path leading towards a better state of society.

During about a quarter of a century he was pre-occupied with political principles the application of which are topical to our own times and his approach to them is of permanent significance, for he brought to their consideration a sense of justice uncircumscribed by prejudice and a generosity and love of humanity which were outstanding; moreover, the moderation which informed his views is a quality rare in all generations.

This idealism, delimited by commonsense, he may well have inherited from his father, William Henry Lambton, a man who might well have stood high in the councils of the Whigs had he not died at an early age of tuberculosis. William Lambton was a friend of Fox and Grey and was one of the founders of 'The Friends of the People,' an association set up to fight for the restoration of freedom of election and for a more equitable representation of the people in Parliament. Unlike many of his contemporaries, whose minds, disturbed by the French Revolution, found an escape into extremes, he stressed moderation. In speaking of the Association he analysed its aims in terms which approximate very closely to his son's ideals :

'Between anarchy and despotism we have no choice to make, no preference to give. We neither admit the necessity, nor can we endure the idea of resorting to either of these extremities as a refuge from the other. The course we are determined to pursue is equally distant from both.'

When his father died, John Lambton was six years old. Together with his younger brother Billy he was placed in the care of Dr Beddoes, who had been his father's physician. In taking this step, Lady Anne Lambton was actuated by two motives : on the one hand, she considered that the health of her children would be well cared for, and on the other, she believed that they

would receive that progressive approach to the problems of life which their father had desired for them.

Dr Beddoes was a man of parts and of cultured tastes and connections; he was the father of the poet, the brother-in-law of Maria Edgeworth, the friend of Southey and Coleridge, and the employer of Humphry Davy; whose lamp was first tried out in the Lambton collieries. In regard to education his principal endeavour was to give his pupils a balanced outlook, for, as he explained; 'Next to a blind understanding I reckon a one-eyed understanding the greatest evil of its kind.' Consequently the Lambton boys were taught classics and science and, since after the French Revolution Dr Beddoes put no further trust in the permanence of hereditary riches, he endeavoured to teach his charges to earn their living. On the other hand, in order to provide for all eventualities, including stability, he also wrote a dramatic piece for their edification '... to show the effect produced by money upon society and its proper uses.' Thus by environment as well as by heredity John Lambton was initiated into liberal principles. Of his character, Dr Beddoes formed the highest opinion: 'The character of John is very uncommon. I think him capable of going as far in good or evil as any human being I have ever seen and like him the better for it.' He noted also the boy's extreme sensitivity, balanced by an unusual amenability to reason.

In due course Lambton went to Eton, where he left no particular mark, and then, when his guardians were gravely debating whether to send him to the University of Cambridge or to Edinburgh, he announced his intention of joining the army. His military career was short, for, after only eighteen months he resigned his commission in order to run away with Henrietta Cholmondley, the illegitimate daughter of Lord Cholmondley by a forgotten French actress, Madame St Alban. They were married at Gretna Green on Jan. 1, 1812. Presumably they feared the opposition of Lambton's guardians, for he was still a minor, but his mother, at any rate, can have taken no very intransigent view, for when the couple were re-married in church on the 28th of the month, she signed the register as one of the witnesses.

The marriage was happy but ill-starred. Mrs Lambton

died three years later and her three daughters all died in their teens or early twenties.

When Lambton came of age he immediately entered the House of Commons, where, following the tradition of his family, he stood for the principles of liberty and in their interest supported such varied causes as Parliamentary reform, Catholic emancipation, the redressing of Irish grievances, the freedom of Norway and of Belgium, and even the unhappy cause of Queen Caroline.

After his wife's death it looked for a time as though he might retire from public life and devote himself entirely to the care of his estates, but the counsels of his friends prevailed. He returned to the House and then within a year, and with characteristic impulsiveness, married Lady Lousia Grey, the daughter of his father's friend.

The times in which John Lambton entered the political arena were not dissimilar to our own, it was said of them that, owing to the war, everything good was still in short supply; the deficiencies included bread and liberty.

Now for thirteen years Lambton worked principally in the interest of parliamentary reform. As early as 1819 he gave notice of his intention to bring the state of representation before the House. His motion was considered revolutionary and soon the isolation of his position became apparent. Naturally enough he was not *persona grata* to the Tories, but neither could he find a permanent home in the camp of the aristocratic Whigs, whose ideas were not sufficiently bold for his liking, nor yet was he anxious to enter the camp of the radicals, who seemed to him to lack a sense of responsibility. Under no circumstances could he ever become a party man. This was later clearly demonstrated when, convinced of Canning's liberal intentions, he gave him his support to the scandal of the Whigs. Soon after Canning's death Gooderich recommended him for a peerage. The event aroused a storm of criticism from Durham's left-wing friends, but he justified his acceptance on the grounds that liberal thought was not prevalent in the Upper House and that consequently he could best serve the cause of progress in that Chamber. Durham saw no incompatibility between democratic sentiments and a life of considerable

splendour. For instance, the mission to Canada cost him 10,000*l.*, for wherever he went he travelled *en prince*. But, to return to the sequence of events.

In 1821 he made a telling speech on Reform, drawing the attention of the House to the fact that 180 people were returning no less than 300 members to an assembly which purported to represent the nation. He demanded triennial parliaments, the extension of the suffrage to all property holders, the division of the country into electoral districts, and the disenfranchisement of the rotten boroughs. In conclusion he pointed to the fallen lot of Englishmen, remarking that until the reign of Henry VI all English freemen had been entitled to vote for representation. After this speech he was recognised as one of the leaders of the reform movement, but it was not until his father-in-law, Lord Grey, came to office that he was placed in a position in which he could do something concrete towards implementing his ideals.

Grey made him Chairman of the Committee charged with drawing up the Reform Bill. All through the spring months of 1831, when the eldest son of his second marriage, the 'Master Lambton' of Lawrence's portrait, was dying, he worked at the drafting and promotion of the Bill. When the Lords refused to pass it he was amongst those who favoured the creation of a sufficient number of liberal-minded peers to see the Bill through the Upper House. In 1832, after various vicissitudes, the Bill became law, but in a form which did not entirely satisfy Durham, since there were no clauses designed to curtail the life of Parliament and, though the middle classes were enfranchised, little relevant to the working classes had been effected.

However, unlike Lord John Russell ('finality John,' as he was nicknamed), Durham never considered the Bill as more than a step towards a larger sharing of responsibility. He did not fear the widest extension of the franchise, for, as he said to the people of Glasgow :

'I could trust all that is dear to me into your hands: my life, my honour, and my property, I feel confident would be safe in your hands as in my own. I believe your object to be not the destruction of any of the institutions of the country but the promotion of all that is good in them.'

In 1834, Palmerston asked Durham to take up the post of Minister to the Court of St Petersburg. Various matters of importance required negotiation between the two countries. In particular it was desired that Durham should induce the Emperor to act with more magnanimity towards the conquered Poles, that he should promote better relations between Russia and Belgium, and finally that he should form some opinion of Russian designs in the East.

Durham accepted the post and remained about two years in Russia; owing to the personal friendship of the Emperor he saw a lot which was not normally apparent to foreign diplomats and his despatches and his report make fascinating reading.

He did not believe that the Emperor intended to take any hostile action against Constantinople, but he discouraged him from so doing by asserting that Britain could never permit an attack upon Turkey while a drop of blood ran in British veins or a shilling remained in the Treasury. However, when the Emperor stated categorically that Russia had no designs in this quarter, Durham insisted that his word should be accepted at its face value. He complained much that distrust, and jealousy of Russia, and the 'hourly dread' which the name of Russia provoked in English minds, were among the most hampering features of his mission. In particular 'virulent and irresponsible' articles in the English Press were constantly raising remonstrances in St Petersburg with which he had to deal. In doing so he was frank, explaining to the Minister for Foreign Affairs that: 'they had arisen as a result of a long series of events, concerning the policy and justice of which the two nations took opposite views.'

He worked tirelessly to establish good relations between England and Russia, trying to explain their divergent points of view. To the English he reproached their tendency to look always for some *arrière pensée* behind even conciliatory Russian gestures, and to the Russians he reproached the *hauteur* with which they refused to justify themselves.

Therefore to the English he wrote :

'I have not thought it wise or politic to interrupt, perhaps entirely arrest, a most salutary change in Russian policy by

refusing credence to her solemn declarations and offensively despising concessions, avowedly tendered by her with a view to conciliation and cooperation.'

Whilst to the Russian Marshal who was responsible for the maintenance of order in Poland he pointed out that he should, where possible, contradict statements concerning Russian severities towards the population, reminding him that public opinion was now 'omnipotent and omnipresent' so that no government could afford any longer to take refuge in dignified silence in face of criticism.

Durham did not consider that Russia intended war, he believed that she desired to devote all her energies to building up the internal administration of the country, and he drew attention to the psychological fact that whilst her soldiers defended their own soil with unconquerable heroism they were extremely averse to campaigns outside the Motherland and showed no enthusiasm for imperialistic adventures.

The only field in which he thought that Russian intentions might be likely to come into conflict with British policy was in connection with Central Asia and India.

Durham left Russia on grounds of health. He could not stand the cold climate and he had been deeply distressed by the death of one of the daughters of his first marriage which had taken place just before he went to St Petersburg, and still more shocked by the death two years later of the last of this family. On his return to England he was given an earldom.

Hardly had he spent six weeks at home than Melbourne pressed him to go to Canada. The country was in a state of rebellion and it was desired that he should endeavour both to control the existing situation and study the causes of the existing discontent. At first Durham felt too unwell to undertake so onerous a task, also he was loath to absent himself again from home politics, but when a few months later Melbourne renewed his entreaties, he consented to go.

At the time, Melbourne recognised that he was making a heavy sacrifice and promised him the whole-hearted support of the Cabinet; a promise which was to be broken from the outset of the mission. Durham himself foresaw the difficulties in which he was about to be involved and made the prescient plea: 'Don't interfere

with me when I am at work. After it is done impeach me if you will.'

The events of the Durham mission may be briefly summarised, not so the effects of the mission which have influenced British Imperial policy for all time. Durham only stayed for five months in British North America, and out of this period he only spent ten days in Upper Canada and another ten in Montreal, all the rest of the time he remained in Quebec.

The situation which he had to face was grave: The outward signs of Canadian discontent had been manifested in Lower Canada by an armed rising conducted by the French, but to which some English malcontents had given their support, and in Upper Canada by an attempted *coup d'état* led by Mackenzie. On his arrival in Canada he found 161 persons in prison for complicity in the rebellion, though the moving elements had made their escape from the country.

It was perfectly clear to Durham that if those leaders who were in prison were sentenced to death bitterness would be increased, but if on the other hand they were acquitted in an open court, a mockery would be made of justice and the prestige of government lowered. Therefore he made use of his special powers, obtained confessions from eight of the most important persons then under arrest, exiled them to Bermuda and pardoned the rest.

There was some temporary annoyance in Upper Canada at the leniency of the decision, but soon all reasonable Canadians agreed that the solution of the problem without bloodshed had laid a good foundation for cooperation between all parties.

Durham had acted on motives of commonsense and generosity, he had created a favourable atmosphere for his future activities but he had taken no account of red tape. He was to pay dearly for this omission.

He had plenty of enemies at home, and these included that astute lawyer Lord Brougham, who immediately attacked his ordinance as illegal.

The Government made a half-hearted defence but eventually decided to disallow the ordinance. In fact, given his special powers the only legal infringement of which Durham had been guilty had been the technical point of his apparently considering that he had power to

confine the exiles once they had reached Bermuda, an island over which he had of course no jurisdiction, though the British Parliament had.

The Cabinet, faced with the possibility of defeat, made no attempt to set the matter right and instead wrote to Durham signifying the Queen's displeasure and commanding him to revoke his ordinance.

If they anticipated that a man whose main fault was touchiness would tamely accept such an order and remain at his post they must have been poor psychologists. On receipt of the communication Durham did three things : He issued the required revocation, resigned, and simultaneously made a proclamation to the people of Canada in which he gave his view of the circumstances leading up to his resignation. He made it clear that he felt it useless for an emissary to attempt to govern where his authority was undermined and his competence disallowed by the source of his power ; he defended his ordinance, bitterly attacked the British Government, and promised the Canadians that as soon as he reached England he would voice their grievances in Parliament. Thus the mission came to an untimely end.

When he landed at Plymouth Durham was denied the honours customarily accorded to a returning envoy, but the enthusiasm of the people more than compensated him for the lack of official honours.

It was anticipated by his enemies that he would immediately attack them ; instead he settled down to write his report. Clearly and precisely he described what he had seen and heard in Canada, and suggested means of rectifying the situation.

The first and much the longest part of the report is devoted to Lower Canada. Here he found not so much a quarrel between a Government and a people, though that aspect too existed, but a contest between two different ways of life.

The French Canadians were living in a condition of considerable material comfort 'acquired by unvarying labour and conditioned by feudal dependence.' He described them as a 'mild, kindly, frugal, industrious, sociable, cheerful, and hospitable people, distinguished by a real politeness.' But they were deprived of education and of local government. They were, in fact, a stationary

society in a progressive world. Only two organisations had preserved a semblance of order and civilisation in the community, they were the Catholic Church and the Militia, neither of which had had much support from the British authorities.

Into this mediæval setting a large number of English immigrants had irrupted. The impact had been characterised by many unfortunate circumstances. Because British farming methods were far in advance of the French many of the immigrants were soon in a position to buy up the seigniorial properties. Most of the offices were held by the English, and in society the civil and military functionaries exhibited towards the higher order of Canadians 'an exclusiveness of demeanour which was more revolting to a sensitive and polite people than the monopoly of power and profit.' Amongst the less exalted categories of English immigrants Durham noted a number who were '... very ignorant, turbulent, and demoralised persons whose conduct and manners alike revolted the well ordered and courteous natives of the same class.' And in all ranks he criticised the English tendency to form a high estimate of their own superiority 'while they took no pains to conceal from others their contempt and intolerance of their usages.' Relationships were further worsened by the fact that both religion and education kept the two races apart.

Durham, considering the French Canadians brooding over the aftermath of the rebellion, came to the conclusion that a first foundation for the betterment of Canada was the welding of the nation into a conscious whole. This he saw as the only solution to the racial quarrel.

In the constitutional field he was at once struck by the anomaly of combining popular institutions with an absence of any efficient control by the people over their rulers; he complained that the true principles of representative government, i.e. by facilitating the management of public affairs by entrusting them to persons who had the confidence of the representative body, had never been recognised by the government of any of the North American colonies. His logical mind rejected the idea that representative but irresponsible government could work satisfactorily, for he saw clearly that it must result in the rise of irresponsible politicians and demagogues 'bidding

high for popularity without fear of having to make good their pledges.'

The institutions which he thus attacked consisted in normal times of a Governor, a nominated Executive Council, a nominated Legislative Council, and an Assembly. The Governor occupied a position somewhat similar to that of a Tudor sovereign, the Executive Council acting in lieu of a Privy Council. The members of the Executive Council were irremovable by any act of the Assembly and were bound to secrecy. Thus all the power in the land was in fact in the hands of men over whom the people could exert no direct influence and who could remain unaffected by any alteration in either the elected Assembly or the Legislative Council. It was as though a British Cabinet could remain permanently in office although consistently defeated in both the Lords and the Commons. As a result war between the Executive Council and the other bodies was recurrent; it was made the more disastrous by the fact that the Assembly could withhold financial supplies. Thus a situation existed in which all measures requiring money to implement them were stillborn. The consequence of this state of affairs was the astonishing lack of all regular administration outside the walls of Quebec. There were 'no county, municipal or parochial officers,' and 'the population had no security of person or property and no enjoyment of their possession and no stimulus to industry.'

As Durham wrote: 'a people nominally initiated into self-government were not trusted with the management of a parish.'

In Upper Canada the racial difficulties were absent, since the population were entirely English speaking (being derived from all the British Isles and to some extent from the United States), but the constitutional problem was almost identical. Permanent authority was lodged in the hands of a powerful clique known as 'the family compact,' who filled the places in the Executive Council and advised succeeding Governors along reactionary lines. An opposition had grown up but only to realise that its success at the polls ensured it little practical influence. Justice was better organised than in Lower Canada, but the economic backwardness of the province was deplorable, in many parts there were no schools, post offices, mills, or churches.

Cooperation between Upper and Lower Canada was completely lacking, and as a result great enterprises, such as the building of canals, were robbed of most of their usefulness by being obliged to peter out once they reached the provincial frontier.

Durham did not visit the Eastern Provinces or Newfoundland, but he instituted inquiries as to the conditions prevailing there and found them similar to those which he had observed elsewhere.

Having thus drawn a picture of the existing situation, he proceeded to make his recommendations. In the first place he advised a union of Upper and Lower Canada with facilities for the Maritime Provinces to enter it at a later date ; for thus only did he believe that the Canadian nation could come into being. In the second place he demanded the concession of responsible government to the Union. This was an unheard of recommendation and he prepared himself against the strongest opposition.

'I admit,' he wrote, 'that the Government I propose would place the internal government of the colony in the hands of the colonists themselves.' And he went on to justify the conception by adding: 'The British people of the North American Colonies are a people on whom we may safely rely and to whom we must not grudge power.' He stressed that self-government would not necessarily lead to the severance of the colony from the Mother country, but he found even this possibility.

'I do not anticipate that a colonial Legislature thus strong and self-governing would desire to abandon its connection with Great Britain. . . . But at any rate, our first duty is to secure the well-being of our colonial countrymen and if, in the hidden decrees of that Wisdom by which the world is ruled, it is written that these countries are not forever to remain portions of the Empire, we owe it to our honour to take good care that, when they separate from us, they should not be the only countries on the North American continent in which the Anglo-Saxon race shall be found unfit to govern itself.'

Against those who contended that the colonists were incapable of governing themselves he had another argument.

'The Colonists may not always know what laws are best for them, or which of their countrymen are the fittest for

conducting their affairs, but, at least, they have a greater interest in coming to a right judgment on these points, and will take greater pains to do so than those whose welfare is very remotely and slightly affected by the good or bad legislature of these portions of the Empire. If the Colonists make bad laws and select improper persons to conduct their affairs, they will generally be the only, always the greatest, sufferers; and, like people of other countries, they must bear the ills which they bring upon themselves until they choose to apply the remedy.'

Durham was conscious of the strain which would arise when there existed a government in Canada which would at the same time be responsible both to the Canadian people and to the London Cabinet (for his vision did not extend to an immediate realisation of what became Dominion status). He sought to reduce these difficulties by dividing clearly the matters in which the Canadian Cabinet should be responsible to its own people and those in which its responsibility lay to Westminster.

All internal affairs were reserved to Canada while the constitution of the Government, external affairs, external trade, and the disposal of public lands were to be considered as imperial concerns. In appreciating his standpoint it must always be borne in mind that no more than he had considered the Reform Bill a final document, did he think of his solution for the Canadian problem as one which was to stand for all time.

His generous comprehension of the nature of the relationship which should bind Great Britain to her overseas connections was most explicitly expressed in the report:

'It is not in the terrors of the law or the might of our armies, that the secure and honourable bond of connection is to be found. It exists in the beneficial operation of the British institutions which link the utmost development of freedom and civilisation with the stable authority of an hereditary monarchy and which, if rightly organised and fairly administered in the colonies and in Great Britain, could render a change of institutions only an additional evil to the loss of the protection and commerce of the British Empire.'

The report made a considerable impression upon British public opinion, but it was too much to hope that its wisdom would at once impose itself in its entirety.

The suggested Union was implemented by an Act of 1840. But the Maritime Provinces did not adhere to it and in 1867 it was dissolved in favour of Federation. Responsible government was too great an advance to find acceptance so quickly, only in 1846, when Durham's brother-in-law, Lord Grey, was at the Colonial Office were its principles adopted ; by this time Durham was dead. Indeed, he only lived five days after the passing of the Canada Bill which effected the Union of Upper and Lower Canada.

He was buried at Chester-le-Street, near Lambton Park. Thirty thousand people attended his funeral, thus demonstrating that whatever had been lacking to him in loyal support from his colleagues was made up to him by the ordinary people of England whose constant champion he had been.

Life treated him hardly, a man of strong family affections, he had to bear the loss of four of his children and of his first wife, his naturally friendly disposition was little fitted to understand the jealousy and hatred which his integrity and popularity with the masses aroused among his colleagues, while the delicate constitution which he had inherited was constantly upset by overwork, emotional strain, and difficult conditions. Under the circumstances it was not astonishing that he was at times nervous, hot-tempered, and impatient in face of criticism. But when he died at the age of forty-eight he could look back upon a life entirely devoted to improving the lot of those who were suffering under injustice or oppression ; many applications of the principles for which he fought are to-day regarded as accepted practices. In the question of Parliamentary reform he was one of many who were striving to improve popular representation, but in the matter of according responsible government to a colonial territory he was breaking new ground, and if this had been his sole achievement he would still figure as one of those Englishmen who have most influenced the destiny of the Empire. Because he thought in terms of principle and not in terms of expediency his views have a significance which is not circumscribed by time.

MARJORIE VILLIERS.

Art. 7.—BYRON AND SHELLEY IN VENICE.

(This article draws not on Mr Blunden's 'Shelley' but on the 'Shelley' of Professor N. I. White of Virginia, a book not yet published in England. The reference 'Julian' is to the Julian edition of Shelley; 11 vols.)

'I THINK we ought to go to Italy,' Shelley had written to Mary from the Leigh Hunts' house in Paddington as far back as Oct. 8, 1817. 'I think my health might receive a renovation there, for want of which, perhaps, I shall never entirely overcome that state of diseased inaction which is so painful to my beloved. I think that Alba ought to be with her father. This is a thing of incredible importance to many human beings.' *

The child of Byron and Clare had always fascinated him. He described her when she was only three months old as very beautiful; her eyes were deep blue, and rarely intelligent, her mouth was delicately shaped. In December 1817 she was described as exquisitely beautiful with a temper affectionate and mild; Shelley and his boy 'Willmouse' had become very fond of her, the boy putting in her mouth his own raisins and treats. Byron was asked to suggest a plan to have his child taken to Venice. Her father's decision written to Hobhouse was typical: 'A clerk can bring the papers (and by the by, my child by Clare at the same time, pray desire Shelley to pack it carefully), with toothpowder, red only, magnesia, soda, tooth-brush, diachylon plaster, and any new novels good for reading.' †

Byron had decided that the baby should be named Allegra; and just before they started for Italy she was taken to a church in London, St Giles-in-the-Fields, and christened with the names of Allegra Clara Byron. Shelley arranged that his own children should receive the same sacrament at the same time.

On March 10 the party sailed over the Channel. Early in the April of 1818 they all arrived in Milan.

Shelley now wrote again inviting Byron to stay with him and take the child, but Byron declined to move from

* 'Julian,' ix, 249.

† Byron, 'Letters and Journals.'

Venice. He had no wish to renew on the Lake of Como an episode which had bored him on the Lake of Geneva. He had his own reasons for not leaving the Palazzo Mocenigo. Refusing absolutely to see Clare, he arranged that the Swiss nurse, Elise, should drive Allegra thither, and the two started on April 28, Clare remaining with the Shelleys and agreeing, apparently, with Byron's insistence that she must never see Allegra again, or have anything to do with either her or him. Shelley had heard meanwhile, while getting letters at the Poste Restante in Milan, that Byron's life in Venice was irregular in the extreme, and warned Clare of the dangers in the plan to which she agreed. He wrote courteous but vigorous protests to Byron himself. But, none the less, she had let the child go and planned to travel towards Pisa with the Shelleys.

With the beginning of May, they all began a week's drive over the plain of Lombardy through Piacenza and Parma to Bologna, till, after spending a few days in Pisa, they went on to Leghorn. There they found a certain Mrs Gisborne to whom Godwin had given him an introduction. Mrs Gisborne had been a devoted friend of Mary Wollstonecraft.

In the middle of August Clare suddenly changed his plan. She had had disquieting letters from Elise at Venice. These not only gave her an inkling of Byron's life; they told that Elise and Allegra were no longer with Byron but with the British Consul. It is easy to see what had happened. The British Consul was a son of Hoppner the painter, who had married a Swiss. As a Swiss she had listened to Allegra's nurse, Elise; and the Consul-General had taken over the charge of the little English baby. When Clare heard this, she at once urged on Shelley that they should drive over there and she would resume with Byron personally the vigorous discussions he had carried on by letter from Milan. So it was that Shelley again met Byron, with results to their genius quite as remarkable as when they had first met on the Lake of Geneva.

At Padua they took a gondola to Venice, where at the Consul-General's they found, as they had hoped, Allegra and Elise.

Hardly had they entered the gondola, however, than they found their gondoliere talking of the great English

peer who combined licentious extravagance with princely tastes. It was just on two years since they had parted from him at Geneva and since Byron had found that the sense of himself had dominated the sublime grandeur of the Alpine scenery; since he had been driven half mad by the exciting conflict between his genius and passions; and still the nightmare of his delinquencies contended with thoughts inextinguishable and love unutterable. In riotous and human Venice, Lord Byron had plunged deeper than ever into dissipation; but he had not lost his charm. And it was with the warmest welcome that he received the friend whose slender figure shone for so many with the glamour of an elfin knight. Shelley, for his part, as he climbed the stairway of the Palazzo Mocenigo found in his host a man nobler and more captivating than his surroundings. 'He is changed,' said Shelley, 'into the liveliest and happiest looking man I ever met.'*

Byron was, of course, delighted to taste once more the rarity of Shelley. While Venetian society had stimulated his vanity and flattered his egoism, its pleasures could easily pall. 'Venice,' he exclaimed afterwards to Medwin, 'I detest any recollection of the place, the people, and my pursuits. I there mixed again in society, had again the old round, conversaziones, balls, and concerts: was every night at the opera, a constant frequenter of the Ridotto and into all the dissipations of that luxurious place. Everything in a Venetian life, its gondolas, its effeminate indolence, its siroccos tend to enervate the mind and body.'† The more satiated and disillusioned Byron felt, the more he welcomed the bracing company and elevated discourses of Shelley. They reminded him that noble designs can tend to exquisite joys. His bitterness was sweetened with prospects and sympathies of an order which, not forgotten in the press of vanities and gratifications, was congenial to his gifts. And Shelley, though alive to his faults, was fascinated by his company. Shelley found Byron consumed by concentrated and impatient feelings which trampled on the feelings not of others but of himself. Byron as a companion was gentle, cheerful, frank, and witty. 'His more serious

* 'Julian,' ix, 334.

† Medwin, 'Conversations with Byron.'

conversation,' said Shelley, 'is a sort of intoxication ; men are held by it as by a spell.' *

But the art of Byron was to alleviate seriousness with jest and fun. He had seen so much, and could describe his adventures with such frankness and relish, as make talk inexpressibly amusing. We have the wildness and the wit of it in that first Canto of 'Don Juan' which he now read to Shelley. And he took a wicked pleasure in drawing out Shelley's taunts against the religion and the conventions to which, in spite of everything, Byron, in his heart of hearts, still clung.

Such was the company Shelley found now in the splendours of the Palazzo Mocenigo on the Grand Canal, now among the masterpieces of the Academia, now in the silent passage of the gondola over waters glimmering with reflections of palace, campanile, cupola, or mosaic, now on the lonely sandy stretches of the Lido between the open Adriatic and the Lagoon. Shelley seldom wrote more vividly than when he described how they went together to the Lido :

So as we rode we talked ; and the swift thought
Winging itself with laughter, lingered not,
But flew from brain to brain ; such glee was ours
Charged with light memories of remembered hours,
None slow enough for sadness, till we came
Homeward.†

The day had been cheerful but cold, and now the sun was setting and the wind dropped. In the calm of the hour their talk grew more serious, for even their raillery could not extinguish the solemn thoughts it mocked. They had discoursed in tones of irony of men's beliefs and hopes, recalling what a poet's imagination paints, and dreaming of what suffering can achieve. As their talk touched on free will and metaphysics, it was not unlike that which Milton credited to Belial and Beelzebub in 'Pandemonium.' Shelley argued against despondency, Byron was defiant.

The sense that he was greater than his kind
Had struck methinks his eagle spirit blind
By gazing at its own exceeding light.‡

* 'Julian,' III, 177.

† *Ibid.*, 179.

‡ *Ibid.*, 180.

And meanwhile, as the sun touched the Alps, it seemed to pause and glow with yet intenser beauty on the scene of mountain, vineyard, sea, and tower, which framed the outlines of Venice. When the sun had set among the Dolomites of Cadore, a hue brighter than living gold coloured the steep sky, and changed through flaming clouds to a dark purple high above them :

And then as if the earth and sea had been
Dissolved into one lake of fire, were seen
Those mountains towering, as from waves of flame,
Around the vaporous sun from which there came
The inmost purple spirit of light and made
Their very peaks transparent,*

Then the poets entered Byron's black gondola, and Shelley, leaning out from it, saw Venice rising from its many isles

its temples and its palaces
Like fabrics of enchantment piled to heaven.†

At last the gorgeousness died away :

The Churches, ships and palaces were seen
Huddled in gloom ; into the purple sea
The orange hues of heaven sunk silently.‡

In this scene Shelley had made mockery of worship ; even while he speculated how good might be made superior, he was inclined to scoff at things reputed holy.

'O ho ! You talk as before,' said Byron. 'You were always a dangerous infidel, a wolf among the lambs. If you can't swim, beware of providence.'

Shelley was fascinated :

If I had been an unconnected man,
I from this moment should have found some plan
Never to leave sweet Venice ; for to me
It was delight to ride by the lone sea.
And then the town is silent—one may write
Or read, in gondolas, by day or night
Having the little brazen lamp alight,

* 'Julian,' III, 181.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

Unseen, uninterrupted—books are there
Pictures and casts from all those statues fair
Which were there born with poetry. . . .

I might sit
In Maddalo's great palace, and his wit
And subtle talk would cheer the winter night
And make me know myself—and the firelight
Would flash upon our faces till the day
Might dawn and make me wonder at my stay.*

So he wrote; it was for scene and company the most brilliant episode in his life; it was also to be one of the most tragic.

And what was the effect on Byron? Could Shelley's rare company combine with the splendour of the scene as it had done at Clarens, Chillon, and Meillerie? Byron in the intervening years had toured Italy, and but a few months before had inscribed the record of his impressions in his fourth Canto of 'Childe Harold,' now with John Murray awaiting publication. There the monuments of Rome, the splendours of Florence, the associations of Ravenna, Arqua, and Ferrara, with the beauty of Venice and Cadore had each received their tribute, and with them was praised the Italian people: 'That man must be wilfully blind, or ignorantly heedless, who is not struck with the extraordinary capacity of the people, or if such a word is admissible, their capabilities, the facility of their acquisitions, the rapidity of their conceptions, the fire of their genius, their sense of beauty, and amidst all the disadvantages of repeated revolutions, the desolation of battles and the despair of ages, their still unquenched longing after immortality.' †

So had Byron written of something which Shelley was slow to grasp. At first knowing them to be Catholics living under long-established thrones, he regarded them, men and women, as simply contemptible. Time, as Mary tells us, was to make him wiser. And Byron had already a thousand things to tell him, and the new Canto to read with all its songs of the poet and artist striving to body forth some hint of the Paradise for which they

* 'Julian,' III, 193, 194.

† Dedication to Canto IV of 'Childe Harold.' Cf. Finden's Illustrations to 'Life and Works of Byron.' Murray, 1833.

longed, 'the unreach'd Paradise of our despair.' Byron too had painted a sunset to rival those of Venice:

gently flows

The deep-dyed Brenta, where their hues instil
The odorous purple of a new-born rose,
Which streams upon her stream, and glass'd within it glows,
Fill'd with the face of heaven, which, from afar,
Comes down upon the waters; all its hues,
From the rich sunset to the rising star,
Their magical variety diffuse.*

But it was not just to contemplate sunsets or to hear memorable stanzas picturing Italy that Shelley had come to Venice. It was to arrange the problem of Allegra and to plead the cause of her mother, Clare. And thus it was that the new tragedy came into Shelley's life.

For when he called on Byron, he did not dare to say that he had brought with him to Venice a woman so detested by Byron as was Clare. He dared not admit that at the Consul-General's house Clare had already embraced the daughter she had promised absolutely to give up. He pretended that he had brought his family with Clare as far as Padua. And it was to send Allegra to them at Padua that he now applied to Byron. Byron answered in the most genial and generous tone; he told Shelley that he had rented from the British Consul the delightful villa of I Cappucini on the hills above Este, and this he courteously placed at the disposal of Shelley and his household, including Allegra and even Clare.

To save himself from being found out by Byron, Shelley must therefore summon Mary with all haste from Bagni di Lucca, so that they could all be at Este together. Mary received this letter on August 28. Setting out with Paolo and her two babies, she arrived at Este on Sept. 5, 1818. Meanwhile, Shelley admitted to Byron that she was not already there.

Shelley had not been without misgivings. 'I have been obliged to decide on all these things without you,' he wrote to Mary, 'I have done the best—and, my own beloved Mary, you must come and scold me if I have done wrong and kiss me if I have done right—for I am

* 'Childe Harold,' iv, xxviii-xxix.

sure I do not know which—and it is only the event that will show. . . . Dearest love, be well, be happy, come to me. Confide in your own constant and affectionate P.B.S.' *

While she was on her way, he went out to the villa, and there, the day before she arrived, he wrote :

O Mary dear, that you were here
With your brown eyes bright and clear
And your sweet voice, like a bird
Singing love to its lone mate
In the ivy bower disconsolate ;
Voice the sweetest heard ! . . . †

But in this longing there was an undertone of foreboding to which the story which follows gives a piercing significance. For it was long till such a tone was heard again from Shelley's lips.

When Mary started, the baby Clara had been ill from teething and during the journey she contracted dysentery. On her arrival at the Villa she appeared to recover, but when on September 22 they attempted to move her to Venice she grew rapidly worse, and an hour or two after crossing the lagoon she was dead.

Five days later Shelley and Mary returned to the Villa, he to write famous poems, she to mourn her loss—and the poems then written tell not merely that a baby daughter had died ; they disclose a deeper tragedy in the poet's life.

It is not too much to say that in ' Julian and Maddalo ' Shelley has voiced the passionate outcry of his own heart. The story of the madman, as he himself wrote, is founded on reality : and in every poem that he wrote for months to come we hear the misery and the craving for lost love. ‡ How are these things to be explained unless by the hypothesis that Mary dismayed at the loss of her baby, had questioned deeply all the events which led to it, and not least the beginning of their union ?

Grief always asks again and again how tragic events could have been avoided. When Mary asked such questions, she could only find in Shelley's excursion with

* ' Julian,' ix, 329-330.

† *Ibid.*, iii, 220

‡ N. I. White, ' Shelley,' ii, 50-55.

Clare, and the subterfuges into which it forced him, the reason for her baby's death. There are reactions in practically every marriage, and at such a crisis, the passion of Mary must inevitably have chilled and left her with those feelings of bitterness—or at least of sad satiety—which are the natural aftermath of intense passion. Now in 1818 Mary began to feel much as Harriet had felt in 1814, and she may well have remembered the rights of Harriet. When all the intimate experiences of married life are considered, a temperament so sensitive and intense as Shelley's was in its reactions must have subjected any woman to the severest strain. And Mary now gave way: she wrote afterwards a confession of cold neglect and averted eye. Her heart, she said, was like a shell; * and a shell is not only hard, but unchanged when it is empty. So it is that 'Julian and Maddalo' tells the story not only of Shelley's encounter with Byron in Venice, but of new and intense suffering. The unconnected exclamations of the madman's agony, he wrote, will perhaps be found a sufficient comment for the text of every heart; † in other words, he set down what he himself knew; his was

some dreadful ill
Wrought on him boldly, yet unspeakable
By a dear friend; some deadly change in love
Of one vowed deeply. ‡

His wife had recoiled from him:

Thou wilt tell
With the grimace of hate, how terrible
It was to meet my love when thine grew less.§

If we want a commentary on 'Julian and Maddalo' we may turn to the classic sonnet sequence that Peacock's son-in-law, George Meredith, afterwards wrote. 'Modern Love' is the only other story of wedded lovers' disillusionment told with equal power, Shelley disguised the tragedy by writing it as of those long dead:

* 'Shelley's Works' (1876), I, 4.

† 'Julian,' III, 178.

‡ *Ibid.*, 194.

§ *Ibid.*, 192.

Let the silent years
 Be closed and cered over their memory
 As yon mute marble where their corpses lie
 I urged and questioned still, she told me how
 All happened—but the cold world shall not know.*

Shall it not? In spite of himself, the poet in enriching the world lays bare his own heart. In other poems he related how her cold silence mocked him, how her arms were dull and dead, how no heart shared in his emotions nor met his with Love's impatient beat; how from visions of aerial joy he woke to find not love but pain. He thought incessantly of death, and imagination was his only minister. It could create for him a personality to voice and to discharge the stuff that weighed upon his heart. 'I must remove,' he wrote, 'a veil from my pent mind.' And now his power was at the full. He not only wrote the poignant 'Lines written among the Euganean Hills,' which so vividly connect Venice and his misery; he not only wrote in 'Julian and Maddalo' a poem incomparably more vivid than his other narratives, 'a union of freedom, truth, and grace'; † but reviving his revolutionary ardour, he began 'Prometheus Unbound.'

Such is the result of Byron's second intervention in his life; and once again it was through Clare Clairmont that these two had been brought together.

As Byron's greatest achievements were his reactions against scorn and shame, so Shelley was never more a poet than when he sought from his gifts alleviation for life's poignancy. He credits Byron with the words he makes his own:

Most wretched men
 Are cradled into poetry by wrong;
 They learn in suffering what they teach in song.‡

The usual references to the despot and the slave mingle with the expression of inner suffering and the cry of his personal loneliness in the sweet jingling music of the 'Lines written among the Euganean Hills.' As a poem, it cannot bear comparison for force or power or interest with 'Julian and Maddalo'; but it attempts

* Cf. N. I. White, 'Shelley,' II, 45.

† 'Dowden,' II, 237.

‡ 'Julian,' III, 194.

and attains a similar combination of personal reflections with vivid poetical descriptions. It sets before us the passing of an autumn day from dawn to evening; it paints not only the sky in the changes of the light, but the fallen leaves crisp in the frost, the withered grass, the red and golden foliage that made the vineyards brilliant, the sage green of the olives, the views of the plains, and in the far distance the dim outline of the Appennines of Padua and of Venice. Through all he felt the presence of the spirit clothed in perfume, sound, wind, light, colours; all spoke of harmony and love; they rain balm, he says, on his uplifted soul

While each breathless interval
In their whisperings musical
The inspired soul supplies
With its own deep melodies.*

The spirit of beauty returned to him now to consecrate and alleviate his sorrow; but when the throes returned he added more lines to the madman's lament, and never was his tone more resonant with his heart's convulsive strength:

That you had never seen me—never heard
My voice, and more than all had ne'er endured
The deep pollution of my loathed embrace—
That your eyes ne'er had lied love in my face—
That like some maniac monk, I had torn out
The nerves of manhood by their bleeding root
With mine own quivering fingers, so that ne'er
Our hearts had for a moment mingled there
To disunite in horror.†

So it was that his conscience now spoke of Harriet, and his guilt. So it was that he dealt desperately with a sorrow he could not mention to any of his friends. He had learnt too well what it was to be an outcast from society and to be refused the custody of his children; and were it to be suggested that he was as abject a failure with his second wife as he had been with his first, the few close friends that he had would have been disgusted with him. 'The various ills of poverty and loss of friends brought

* 'Euganean Hills.'

† 'Julian and Maddalo.'

home to him the sad realities of life.'* In his heart he felt much as he had felt in the spring of 1814 when he abandoned his first wife, only he could no longer argue, as he had argued then, that the moods and devices of passion were the heart's best guide. He dare not abandon his ties and look for another Mary. He and she must meet and exchange

The unblest kisses, which upbraid
The full waked sense ; or, failing that, degrade.†

The gorgeous Venetian sunset as it faded into gloom and chill was but a symbol of the joy that had faded from his feeling ; and, knowing that he was unable to lull his torments with Byron's palliative, he knew that this time there was no balm but poetry, no final cure but death.

As when on the Euganean Hills, so for long after he left them, his avowal of suffering and his preoccupation with death, mingle with the poignancy of his habitual appreciation of atmosphere, scene, and sky ; they gain an added interest from the distraction which he could not fail to find in Italy itself. There is no hint of tragedy in the letters he now writes ; they are brilliant with his appreciation of outward things. The clear sunny air was a tonic to him ; and to know him and Italy is to be conscious, also, that her cuisine suited his vegetarianism. He was better nourished than he had ever been. And he had, therefore, the more vigour to appreciate the genial air, the colour, the monuments, and the novelty. And never before, or after, was he so delightfully housed as in the villa which Byron lent him. He was living to the full, and this while it kindled delight enhanced his melancholy.

Before he went south he returned to Venice and to Byron. But the enthusiasm of his friendship had faded. He became vividly aware of the unusually lurid affair which had been occupying his friend in Venice.

In the summer of 1817, Byron had remarked on the Brenta a very handsome and well-built young woman of twenty-two, the wife of a baker and known from his furnace as La Fornarina. On his return to Venice, she fixed herself in the palace as housekeeper or 'donna di

* 'Julian,' I, 198.

† 'Dowden,' II, 227.

governo.' 'She was a fine animal,' said Byron, 'but quite untameable. I was the only person who could at all keep her in order, and when she saw me really angry (which they tell me is a savage sight) she subsided. But she had a thousand fooleries.'* One night after he had been caught in a storm on the Lido and his gondola nearly wrecked, he found her on the steps of his palace, with her great black eyes flashing through her tears and the long dark hair which was streaming drenched with rain over her brows and breast. She was perfectly exposed to the storm; and the wind blowing her hair and dress about her thin tall figure, and the lightning flashing round her, and the waves heaving at her feet, made her look like a Medea alighted from her chariot, or the Sybil with the tempest rolling round her. Such is Byron's own description; he adds that her joy in recovering him was mixed with ferocity and that her one greeting was with a blasphemy of the Madonna—'is this a time to go to the Lido?' and that she gave him the idea of a tigress regaining possession of her cubs. But he told her her reign must come to an end. As much Amazon as Medea, she threatened revenge with a knife, and seized one when he was at table. When the butler snatched this from her, she threw herself in the Canal. With all her excesses, she combined the practices of Catholic piety. Byron summed her up as 'a very fine animal of considerable beauty and energy, with many good and several amusing qualities, but wild as a witch, and fierce as a demon.'†

Byron himself was a man of moods. His calmness changed to 'the tempestuous and terrible' said the Countess Abruzzi, 'if a passion (a passion did I say?), a thought, a word, occurred to distract his mind.'‡

Shelley now saw the demonic side of him. For Shelley had become acutely aware of La Fornarina, and when in Venice at the time her baby died, Mary, writing on October 3, had asked to have the MS. of 'Don Juan' if it would be permitted by this lady who was now attempting to control all Byron's correspondence.§ Shelley had recoiled abruptly from the whole atmosphere and then he remained

* Moore: 'Life of Byron' (1860), 385.

† *Ibid.*, 385.

‡ *Ibid.*, 414.

§ 'Byron's Correspondence' (1922), II, 88. Moore, 'Byron' (1860).

with feelings of disgust. In 1818 Mary and he had seen curious sights. 'In the interior of the malaria-haunted Palazzo Mocenigo, the master made love in the salon,' wrote Lord Ernle, 'the Swiss valet from the hall window. One old dog balanced a biscuit on his nose while mastiffs gambolled with Allegra. The English butler looked helpless on the tumult, while the quarrels and hubbub of dogs, monkeys, a crow, a wolf, and a fox floated up the marble staircase to where the poets sat talking together, and rival mistresses quarrelled volubly or fled with torn headgear, and blood on their cheeks, from the onslaughts of La Fornarina.' *

As a few weeks earlier Shelley had seen in Byron only the genius, now he saw the disillusioned profligate. A woman such as La Fornarina struck him as the most contemptible under the moon: 'the most ignorant, the most disgusting, the most bigoted.' He naturally identified her religion with her debauchery; and soon afterwards he wrote worse things of Byron: 'He associated with wretches who seem almost to have lost the spirit and physiognomy of man, and who do not scruple to avow practices which are not only not named, but I believe seldom even conceived in England. He says he disapproves but he endures. He is heartily and deeply discontented with himself, and contemplating in the distorted mirror of his own thoughts the nature and destiny of man, what can he behold but objects of contempt and despair?' †

But if sensuality was repugnant to Shelley, he did not refuse to mix with people of irregular lives. He spent several evenings with Byron, discussing with him the future of Allegra, whom Byron for better or for worse now took back, and who before long was to find a friend in the Contessa Guiccioli before the migration to Ravenna.

ROBERT SENCOURT.

* Lord Ernle, 'The Ravenna Journal,' 6-7.

† 'Julian,' x, 12.

Art. 8.—EAST AFRICA AND THE RETURNING ASKARI.

IN any country which has been involved in a major war and has had men and women serving away from their homes for considerable periods, the returning soldiers, sailors, and airmen present problems which go far beyond their immediate leave, gratuities, outfits of civilian clothes, and reinstatement in civilian employment. These people, if they are sufficiently numerous or vocal, constitute a factor in the future life of the country which cannot be ignored, and the experiences they have gained during the war and on their travels may have effects on national policies and standards which will make history.

While this is true of civilised countries, the problem is of even greater complexity in so-called ' native ' countries, where it is aggravated by the fact that the outlook and opinions of the returning service men have in many cases undergone a fundamental change, caused by their contacts with things, places, and people formerly beyond their ken. The experiences of African troops outside their native lands have been far more novel, far more extraordinary and shattering to their simple minds than anything which can have come the way of the British soldier.

The great bulk of the native population of our East African Colonies was composed of men who were simple, home-loving creatures, living primitive lives before the war, their chief concern being for wives and children, crops and animals, their whole existence largely governed by tribal routine and rules which they accepted without question as the invariable canons of life under those conditions. The men who come back from serving their King in many parts of the world will not be so ready to accept without question the rules of the past under which they were brought up as children. They are different in a number of ways from the men who went away—far more different than the returning British soldier is from the civilian of 1939.

The magnitude of the problem and the extent of its effect on the future of the Colonies must depend on the strength of the men returning, and not only on their numerical strength, but also on their strength of character and of purpose. The African responded readily to the call of the Mother Country, for ' Kingy Georgy ' is a very

real person to him, although they have never met. Moreover, many tribes have a strong military tradition and background, and 'war' still seems to them a natural process to be willingly engaged in and enjoyed while it is in progress. Uniforms, badges, and ranks mean a lot to the African who, with a few notable exceptions, takes kindly to military discipline and to army life and routine. Not only does he value the outward insignia for its immediate value among his fellow-soldiers, but also because it marks him out as being something better than his brothers in his village who have not answered the call to service. This latter fact is of importance in assessing the effect of war service on post-war developments, for the ex-soldier automatically considers himself a cut above the man who has not served or worn the King's uniform. Very often he *is* a better man, for he has a wider outlook and has been trained to discipline and regular habits of mind and body which improve his intellect, his health, and his usefulness to the state, as well as his influence among his less fortunate fellows. The returning soldier is thus, *per se*, a stronger man than the civilian who stayed behind, and this strength of character will compensate for any lack of numbers when it comes to measuring the influence of the returning soldier in the village and the country as a whole.

Their numerical strength must also, however, be taken into account. Although the response of the African natives to the call for war service, if measured purely as a proportion of the total population, may not be impressive, the numbers that did go, either to the forces or to work so far removed in distance and nature from their previous existence that it had a somewhat similar effect on them, are sufficient to make the returning wanderers a pretty problem in the reconstruction of African economy and social life. As a direct outcome of service away from their homes and countries, these men have a greater knowledge of the outside world, wider interest in the affairs of the world and the doings of other people, and an increased ability to think for themselves and express their thoughts and aspirations. All these factors contribute to the complexity of the problem they present and must be taken into account in the attempts made to solve it.

It is hard for the Englishman who has not lived among

these people to realise the enormous extent to which their outlook has been broadened, their horizon extended, by service in the war. Not all of them went outside Africa or even outside their own East Africa, but practically all went miles from their own districts, met people of many races whom they would never ordinarily have seen, and enough of them went overseas to leaven the remainder and inspire the mass of returning soldiers with a desire for something very different from anything that was their lot in the peaceful days before.

Many of them now have quite a different attitude towards and understanding of money. In their previous existence, coinage was to many of them of little importance or value, for crops and stock were the normal currency. Under war conditions, the receipt of regular army pay, access to shops, and the temptations and depredations of touts and unscrupulous merchants have magnified the importance of money until some of them can think of little else. Moreover, they have had this first real close-up of money and its power and uses in unfortunate circumstances, due to the artificial conditions which war produces. Control of prices, wages and the like did much to curb inflation, but the African has inevitably got an inflated idea of the power and importance of money, as well as an even more inflated idea of his own value in terms of money. As long as production at any cost was the order of the day, the counting of pennies was a matter of indifference to many employers, sometimes even to governments, and the African has in consequence got an idea of money and its meaning which is at best exaggerated and at worst may turn out to be disastrous. When supply and demand begin to level themselves out again and the over-riding needs of the war cease to push shillings and cents into the background, he will have a sorry lesson to learn about his own value and about the value of things which have seemed so commonplace to him during his time in the army.

Many of the Africans who left their villages and reserves to go on war service saw shops, white people, and European customs for the first time. They have acquired much knowledge of such things, and unfortunately what they have learned has not always been to their good or to the credit of those who taught them.

They have learned that shopkeepers, whatever their colour, race, or name, are not always to be trusted and are quite capable of cheating the poor native while seeming to serve him well. Many of them probably expected this of the Asiatic or other coloured merchant, but to find that it is true also of the white or near-white has been an unpleasant revelation.

Women have appeared in a new and distressing light to them, for they have met others than those of their own race and have, it is to be regretted, learned that some of them, even some who to them appear white (though we might disagree with them) can be bought for money. What is worse, these creatures, of the same apparent colour and civilisation as those whom they were taught to respect in their British Colonial homes, can give them a dread disease which will leave its mark on the whole future of their own race.

They have found that when white workmen want something from their employers which the latter do not want to grant, an increase of wages, for example, or better hours or conditions, a strike or the threat of a strike will often produce what the workmen want. Their tendency always to go to extremes may lead to more than strikes if they start to employ the same technique in their relations with employers as they have seen used to considerable effect by the workmen of other nations.

They have met and talked with other coloured races, some of whom have progressed a great deal farther than they have themselves along the paths of social and political advancement. They would not be human if they were not inspired to accelerate their own march along similar paths. Moreover, they have met and listened to white people who have said quite frankly that, in their opinion, the African should govern Africa, and that soon. They will not be in a position to assess the real value of such talk and opinions, but they will be influenced by them, and the more politically conscious and intelligent of the returning soldiers may start to agitate for more effective representation and power in the councils of the land they live in. All these varied forms of knowledge and experience will be hard to reconcile with the conditions which they may find in their villages when they first return home from their travels.

In smaller and more personal things, too, they will have different ideas from those which contented the men who joined up in 1939 and 1940. The army gave them more and better clothing than they had ever before dreamed of, and more varied and larger meals. To go back to a pair of shorts and a blanket, bought out of their own pockets, and to their 'posho' (probably at an enhanced price) with precious little else to eke it out and break its monotony, will not be easy for them. If more quantity and more variety was so necessary for them in the army that it was given to them free and generously, they will argue, it is equally necessary for them as civilians, and it is up to the government to provide. They will not yet have learned that everything the government provides has to be paid for eventually out of their own pockets by way of taxes, rates, duties and the like, and that the only way they can get these increased comforts is by increasing the wealth of the country by, fundamentally, harder work. After all, that is a lesson which a great many people in England have not yet learned. Even in that highly civilised community those who cry loudest for free education, more meals for children, better roads, universal pensions and the like are the first, as a rule, to protest, and not silently, against a rise in taxes or an increase in local rates. How then can the ignorant African be expected to realise what has not yet sunk into the brains of those he has been taught to regard as his infallible, all-powerful masters, the British?

It may be thought that all these facts and tendencies must have been known to the governments concerned with planning for the post-war development of the Colonies, and that they, being accustomed to dealing with the African, established for the express purpose of administering those territories, and having at their disposal people who have been trained to solve problems of this sort, will have thought it all out and produced, by now, ready-made solutions to most if not all of the difficulties. Would that it were so. To the best of their abilities, the governments have made arrangements to reabsorb the returning service man and to settle him again in his own land in such a way that his new knowledge and self-respect shall not be ignored but so that he can once more fit into the life that lies before him. But such plans are not easy to make nor

the problems easy to solve or even to foresee in any detail. There came a stage during the war when the military authorities could see, from censorship of letters, commanding officers' reports, and similar sources, that the African soldier was beginning to get worried about his future after the war. At that time much was being published over the radio and in the press (and it must not be forgotten that the African is affected by both, not only by what he hears and reads himself, but by asking questions of those Englishmen in his unit who read and listen to things he cannot himself understand) about demobilisation schemes, gratuities, resettlement plans in various parts of the world—all the things, in fact, which go to make up the comprehensive plan for the return of soldiers. So it was not surprising that the askari began to ask 'What about me?'

If the troops were to be kept contented and happy in the field—and for the maintenance of fighting morale this was essential—it was necessary that they should be told something of what was being planned for them in their own countries when they got back. However readily they enlisted and however keenly they took to war, the thought of home was never far from the surface, and the need for authoritative information on post-war plans became an urgent one. Faced with this need, the government of one territory could find no better statement to make than that the men 'would not be treated so badly as they were after the last war,' when many of them, so they alleged, had lost lands, crops, and property, had been denied pensions or gratuities, and had generally received no thanks for their efforts and sacrifices. That such a statement had to be made was pathetic, but it must be remembered that many of the problems presented by the returning soldier were realised to be very complex, that the future position of the Colonies themselves was by no means clear, and that the men who remained to deal with the problems after many of their colleagues had gone to the war were not, perhaps, of the highest ability and were in any case tired from overlong hours and periods of routine work and detailed administration.

Some governments made concrete proposals quite early in the war, such as excusing ex-soldiers from certain taxes, granting land on favourable terms, and so on. By

now, many more plans will have been formulated and put into operation, no doubt. But, while concessions of this nature will be welcomed by the men as immediate expressions of gratitude for their service and appreciation of the achievements of those who fought, they will soon be forgotten. And it is right that they should be, for they touch only the fringe of the problem and do not tackle the deeper aspects of the resettlement, social, economic, and psychological, of the man who went from his village to the war and returns, sometimes after several years, a different being in many respects, broader in outlook, wiser in knowledge and education, and more insistent on the rights and privileges of a citizen of his own country.

Among the hopes and demands of the returning soldiers is one which, fortunately, is for his own good and for the good of the country and the world—the demand for education. The army, for a variety of reasons, gave its soldiers more and better education than they would ever have known in their homes before the war; and if there had been no war it would have been many years before they would have seen the like of it.

The modern army needs something more from native troops than that they shall be obedient slaves or reliable machines. It needs skilled technicians, men who can handle complicated weapons and vehicles, men who can think for themselves and, above all, leaders of men. Many of these functions, it was realised, could only be performed by Europeans, but the need for the utmost economy of man-power made it imperative that the Africans should be trained to carry out as much specialist work as they could possibly learn and should provide all the leaders up to a certain level of rank. This could only be done against a background of reasonable education. (It is true that some of the 'old soldiers' among the askari, men with no education at all, did wonderfully well, and it is not intended to belittle their value or their work, for some units would have been in a sorry plight without them. But they were pitifully few for the task in hand, and the production of the numbers required in these various classes of specialists would have been impossible without the foundation of education.) This was the army's immediate reason for setting up its own Educational Corps and Schools in East Africa, for training teachers, and for

insisting that every askari should have as much in the way of intellectual opportunity as he had the mental capacity to absorb. With an eye to the future, too, the army realised that it had at its disposal the means of giving the African such education as he had never before been offered. So the soldiers were given the chance to learn a little more than was needed for the immediate performance of their military duty. There was no lack of enthusiasm to take advantage of the opportunity. Unlike the British soldier who often has to be forced to 'go to School' in the army, the Africans took to it kindly and eagerly. They had their own A.B.C.A., specially prepared for them in their own language by trained staffs. They had lectures on world events and they had their own information rooms where they could discover for themselves or be shown by the better informed of their own colour what was going on everywhere, who was doing and saying what, and what the world thought about the war and about things in general.

All this made him a more intelligent and a more useful soldier. The information and knowledge that he gained kept him happier and more interested in the war and thus a better fighting man, for a man who is not interested in the battle he is fighting or a man who is constantly worrying about his home and country cannot give of his best in the fight, and the African is particularly susceptible in this direction.

From the point of view of the future it must be recognised that the very measures which made the African a better soldier have also made him a more inquiring, more ambitious, and persistent person, whether soldier or civilian. The desire to learn English and to acquire the knowledge which at once becomes available to those who know that language is now strong and widespread. More Africans than ever before know something of it through their service with British officers and N.C.Os. and through being stationed in places where English was the only *lingua franca* in which they could get even their simple needs. They have written home to their wives telling them that at all costs they too must learn English (having first mastered Swahili, if that is not already their own language) and the demand for education will assuredly include the women and, of course, the children of both sexes. All

this will need a lot of money which will have to be found from somewhere—whence is beyond the concern or the comprehension of the African. What is more important, it will need the provision of teachers whose academic ability will not be the most important of their qualifications. They must have patience, sympathy with the sometimes disordered and illogical aspirations of the African and, above all, understanding of his background and the wit to see that superficial education, though it could easily be given and might satisfy him, would be the worst possible thing for him. A veneer of knowledge, which might well result from a well-meaning attempt to meet this demand for the learning of English and for more general education, would bring with it grave dangers. With it the African would acquire increased self-respect and the feeling that he was not being sufficiently considered by those who make his laws and govern his country. He might get the impression that he knew and could understand the ways of the world and of the white races. Books in English and European languages would become open to him, and he would understand the words written in them. But he would not have learned to understand their real meaning nor to appreciate the depths and intricacies of the problems which have to be met and solved in any self-governing community.

Most of these ex-soldiers, on first getting out of the forces, will be content to go home for a while and live the life of their villages. They will have saved money or invested in beasts or houses or land, they will have gratuities to spend, and life will seem to them quite pleasant in prospect. Yet even this stage has its dangers. From the conduct and attitude of men who returned home on short leave during the war a warning should be apparent. Many of them then had money in their pockets, uniform to add glamour to their appearance, and the experience of life in such dazzling places as Nairobi, Cairo, or Colombo on which to draw for stories to fascinate their simpler brothers and sisters who had stayed at home. It was hardly surprising that they were sometimes over-ready to question the authority and resent the power of Elders and Chiefs who had not been to the war and who were, in their eyes, old and ignorant of the world. On occasions, as was to be expected, there was trouble, but leave came to an end, the

warriors returned to their units and the villages again settled down to their old routine, often not sorry to see the backs of their soldier brothers who, though they might be heroes and glorious in the King's uniform, had certainly disturbed the tranquillity of village life.

When these same soldiers return, not on short leave but to live in the villages as civilians, the situation will be still more delicate. They will be sufficiently strong in numbers to constitute a section of the community fully capable of upsetting the whole basis of tribal life on which the peace and harmony of villages and reserves is built. They will be more than strong enough in character and experience to refuse to be daunted by mere tribal authority or the dictates of old-fashioned elders or even of District Commissioners, and will be only too ready to voice their feelings about such things and such people and, if their voices are not heard sympathetically, to resort to something stronger than mere words. It will be a time of great strain for officials of all colours and, to some extent, for the British residents who employ native labour. With shrewd and tactful men to guide and govern them during the period of readjustment, all may be well. Tactless or inconsiderate handling of the returning wanderers may speedily convert mildly unhappy and bewildered ex-soldiers into unreasonably violent revolutionaries.

When the first joy of reunion with their families is over and the novelty of being a hero wears off, some of the men will probably be content to settle down and pick up village life very much where they dropped it when the call came, three, four, or five years before, to join the army. If better education, health services, and improved social amenities such as they have learned to enjoy and appreciate in the army can be made available for them in their own homes, the number who will remain content may be substantially increased. Even so, there will be many who, when the money runs out and their brothers get tired of hearing their exaggerated stories of exploits in foreign parts, will think with longing of the regular pay they drew in the army, the life they led there, and the superior status they enjoyed while they were still soldiers. These will be mainly the men who were tradesmen in the army, carpenters, armourers, drivers and the like, and it is only to

be expected that they will tend to leave their villages again and go in search of employment which will give them back the higher pay and better life that their status as technical men in the army won for them. For them the outlook is none too good. They will find that the competitive standards of civil life are very different from those of the army in war, where British supervision was the rule and where, so often, something well below what was desirable had to be accepted because the alternative was not to get the job done at all. They have no means of realising that this was the case, and since the army paid them as skilled men they will naturally expect to be accepted as such by the civil community and given jobs of comparable nature at comparable rates of pay.

Most of them, unfortunately, did not really learn enough to enable them to take their places on a competitive basis with the technicians and artisans of civil life. The very best of the army tradesmen may be able to do so and the second best may be capable of eventually reaching that standard if the government will provide the necessary further instruction and help, which it can only do over a period of years and at considerable cost. But the great majority will have to face the fact that their technical knowledge is not sufficient to earn them a living in the hard competition of civilian commercial and government practice, where they will be up against not only their own kind but also the wily, skilful, and inevitable Indian. Virtually the whole of the skilled labour force in East Africa before the war was Indian. Until the African can defeat the Indian in open competition on his own ground, can in fact become and prove to the people that he is as good a workman as the Indian, the economic life of East Africa cannot absorb more than a fraction of the number of Africans who, having been called tradesmen or specialists in the army and having been paid as such, will invade the civil technical market convinced that they are several degrees better men than the ordinary labourers and servants and that they ought to be able to walk straight into skilled jobs in their army trades at fat rates of pay. Some will go farther and expect, if they do not demand, that jobs shall be created or reserved for them by virtue only of the fact that they are ex-soldiers, with no regard to their standard of technical skill, and that all

others, including the Indians, shall be excluded by law or by force until all the ex-soldier tradesmen have been satisfactorily placed. The number of skilled men of reasonable standard who can be absorbed into useful work may be increased by the development of secondary industries, but only by another fraction, and in any case even this would not help the man whose ability, though adequate for what was demanded of him in the army, is not up to the sterner test of civil competition, where payment and employment will be based primarily on results. Many thousands of Africans have therefore got to learn the unpalatable truth that what they learned in the army, even though there it gained them the status of a technician or specialist and earned them more pay than their less fortunate fellows, is of little value to them in fighting the battle for existence as civilians, and that they must forget that they ever thought themselves tradesmen and start to learn or re-learn something else whereby to support themselves and their families.

It is at this stage, when the men have tired of village life and the authority of their Chiefs and Elders but have failed to find what they consider sufficient recognition of their war service and technical qualifications to ensure them good employment outside their homes as civilians, that the danger of trouble will be at its height and the need for patient and careful administration most acute if the history of Colonial development is not to be interrupted by stories of riots, uprisings, and native discontent in more or less active forms.

When the treatment of returning soldiers was being discussed some time before the end of the war, there was a tendency among many officials, who would have to maintain law and order and deal in detail with the villages to which they returned, to urge that at all costs the men must not return as 'war heroes.' In their own eyes the men *do* return as heroes, and no pronouncement on the part of officialdom, no legislation even, can alter that fact. They will be different beings from the men who went away, some of them as much as seven years earlier, to fight the battles of 'Kingy Georgy,' and it is no good saying or pretending that they are the same men. Whether they will form themselves into any sort of Legion or Union of ex-service men remains to be seen, but they have seen

enough of European methods for them to realise the advantages of such a course. Moreover, many of them have been trained as leaders and will willingly lead such an organisation if they are worked up to it by frustration, unemployment or tactless handling on the part of minor officials.

They *are* war heroes by their own standards, and there is no getting away from the fact. What must be done is to teach them that, as heroes, they have a special duty to themselves and to their country. They have the advantages which the experiences of the war have given them—knowledge of other lands and people, broader minds, better education—and they must use these advantages to the benefit, not only of themselves, but also of the community as a whole. They must first be made to realise that even war heroes cannot expect to get everything and give nothing, nor to have their own way regardless of the interests and needs of the rest of the community. If they can be made to see this, the material is there among the returning soldiers to lead the native populations of the East African territories to develop themselves along sound, ordered lines at a reasonable pace and to a goal which is not beyond their reach—active participation in the government of their own countries and peoples and an effective voice in the administration of their own lives.

This, and no less, is their duty as heroes, if only they can be made to see it. And there is the crux of the whole matter. The only people who can bring them to see it, the people who must devote all their efforts to this end, are the people who have been appointed as British officials in the territories concerned, aided by the support of the white residents in those territories. At every stage of the journey from the jungles of Burma to the civilian homes that await the ex-soldier there must be carefully thought out approaches to the problem of the future and tactful handling by officials of every grade. The men must be taught first to be good citizens in their new-found knowledge and experience and with their increased vision and aspirations. Only when this has been achieved will it be time to think of teaching them languages, science, and political economy. Premature study of such subjects will not only serve no useful purpose, it will prejudice the peaceful settlement of the many difficult problems which

will arise in the conversion of thousands of Africans from valuable soldiers into equally valuable and reliable citizens of a progressive community. In the learning of their first lessons of good citizenship and their duty to their people and themselves they may not be amenable pupils—too much of the lesson will involve sacrifice for themselves or delay in the attainment of ambitions which they have been led, by their contacts with other races and with the press of foreign nations, to think can easily be realised.

Only history will show whether the men and women on whom this great responsibility will rest proved equal to the job. Certain it is that in the selection of them no trouble or care can be too great and no expense wasted that is incurred in finding and training the right people to teach the right lesson in the right way.

A. J. KNOTT.

Art. 9.—THE NEW POETRY.

THOUGH the history of verse takes little account of fashions that have not endured, some of those fashions attracted the majority of readers in their time, and for that reason are entitled to more attention than they receive in the record of literature. As efforts in art they also provide matter for interesting reflection. A chapter of literary history might be written on the course of New Poetry in the later ages of Greece, in Alexandria, Rome, Gaul, perhaps even in Persia and elsewhere. In modern times the New Poetry began in Italy soon after 1500, and in one country after another, and in one guise or another, it has flourished in every generation since then. It may be interesting to trace a part of its career in our own land.

The New Poets always claimed, openly or by inference, that traditional forms of verse were exhausted, that new and better forms were not only required but available, and that poetry if it was to develop must change. This, however, is not true. The works of Homer and Sappho contain all the elements of poetry, and no poet who ever existed has departed from their substance and methods. On the other hand the New Poetry in its many attempts has never produced a great poet or great verse. Its adherents have always desired poetry to be something other than what it is, namely word-pictures in musical verse, as painting is pictures in colour and arrangement, and as sculpture is pictures in stone or metal. At different times they have desired it to be moral tuition, learning, mysticism, symbolism, wit, sarcasm, rhetoric, mellifluousness or intellectual athletics. Strong as it usually claimed to be, the New Poetry has always been an attempt to gain the credit of poetry without the labour of making it. A dozen kinds of it flourished in the age of Shakespeare, who asked himself :

‘ Why with the time do I not glance aside
To newfound methods and to compounds strange ? ’

While his verse endures, however, the newfound methods are known only to students of curiosities.

Quadrio, who about 1750 compiled a history of ‘ every poetry ’ in seven thick quarto volumes, recorded that in

1539 Claudio Tolommei, 'bishop, philosopher, orator, poet, most excellent lawyer, and ambassador' published '*Versi e Regole della Poesia Nuova*,' Metres and Rules of the New Poetry. His book was an attempt to abolish rhymed verse and to induce poets to adopt the metres of Greece and Rome; so little did some cultured Italians think of Dante and Petrarch. Tolommei was not singular in his views, for there was a whole school of the New Poets, but though the debate provided excitement in Italy it died away. Within a short time it was carried into France and England, and though it failed to produce poetry it certainly initiated the legend that rhyme as a method was exhausted, a legend that has often been revived. It also set the fashion of abusing traditional forms.

It is not possible here to discuss the course of this New Poetry in France. In England Roger Ascham was the first to proclaim the necessity of forsaking rhyme and of adopting classical metres. He did this in his little book '*The Scholemaster*,' which was published in 1570 and cannot have been overlooked by any literary man in the kingdom. He intimated that he had received his ideas from Sir John Cheke and Bishop Watson, with whom he had discussed literature at Cambridge, and this was a powerful beginning, for Sir John's authority as a scholar was universally recognised. Ascham denied that those ideas were copied from Italy, though Cheke had sojourned there. Apparently following his master, however, he made the damaging admission that the dactyl was not suitable for English poetry, because of the multitude of long monosyllables in our language, and this admission disposed of English hexameter verse.

Ascham's next move was to express contempt of rhyme, 'barbarous and rude rhyming.' He assumed that it had been introduced into the poetry of Europe by the invading Goths and Huns, but did not quote any authority for the assumption. He wished that good writers 'had not eaten acorns with swine,' and required them to adopt the metres of Rome, as Virgil and Horace had naturalised those of Greece. This was a shrewd argument. Yet with the simplicity that is a great part of his charm he admitted that he 'had never poetical head to make any verse,' and actually incorporated in

his book an elegy in rhyme that he had made on his youthful friend Whitney, in lines of fourteen syllables, a measure which he had singled out for acute dispraise.

The only example he produced to show what could be achieved by his method was two lines which Bishop Watson had translated from Homer. With pride he remarked that the original line was not more naturally made in Greek, nor was it afterwards turned more aptly into Latin by Horace than it was transformed into English by the bishop. The example which he offered to poets as the sole foundation for the betterment of Chaucer, Lydgate, Surrey, and Wyatt was as follows :

' All travellers do gladly report great praise of Ulysses,
For that he knew many men's manners and saw many cities.'

' Travellers ' was to be pronounced ' travellérs,' and the two syllables of ' manners ' were to receive equal accent. There is no escape from this.

With the influence of Sir John Cheke behind Ascham's views it is not surprising that learned men continued the battle. In 1586 was published ' by consent of others ' ' A Discourse of English Poetry, Together with the Author's judgment touching the Reformation of our English Verse,' by William Webbe. He copied a good deal from Ascham without acknowledgment, but acknowledgment was no part of his case, for he came forward as a stout upholder and practitioner of hexameter verse. Like his master he thought contempt of rhyme a good argument, and wrote of the rude multitude of rustical rhymers, the infection of barbarous rhyme, a base kind of fingering, this tinkery verse which we call rhyme, the uncountable rabble of rhyming ballad-makers and compilers of senseless sonnets. With an indication that he himself was too modest to say what he really thought of rhyme he summed up this part of his case by quoting the memorable sentence that Edward Kirke had been permitted to insert in his notes on ' The Shepherd's Calendar ' : ' I scorn and spew out the rakehelly rout of our ragged rhymers.'

In that year when Shakespeare was twenty-two Webbe announced that the custom of rhyme had worn poetry out of credit, that rhymed verse was in decay, and that a new system was required. This was, of course, the

classical metres. He gave examples of hexameter, elegiac, and Sapphic verse. He who dismissed rhyme as worn-out and announced the divine promise of the New Poetry produced this kind of matter as a translation of Virgil :

'What was then to be done? From bondage could not I
wind out,
Neither I could have found such gentle Gods anywhere else.
There did I see (Melibæe) that youth whose hestes I by
course still.
Fortnights whole to observe on the altars sure will I not fail.

Hedgerows hot do resound with grasshops mournfully
squeaking.

Oh, had I not been better abide Amaryllis her anger ? '

'The Sapphic,' he said, 'in my judgment will do very pretty,' and with perfect satisfaction proceeded to turn some melodious lines of Spenser's into Sapphic verse. Here are samples of Spenser's lines and of his :

'Ye dainty Nymphs that in this blessed brook
Do bathe your breast
Forsake your watery bowers and hither look
At my request.'

'O ye Nymphs most fine who resort to this brook
For to bathe there your pretty-breasts at all times,
Leave the watrish bowers, hither and to me come
At my request now.'

There was a good deal more of this, and it was all abominable ; yet he finished it by saying that he hoped 'to gratify the readers with more and better verses of this sort.' It required courage, of the kind that New Poets never lack, to ask English singers to abandon Spenser's style and to adopt his methods, in order to secure such results as his. What he considered poetry to be is a question that the amazed might ask, but literary history repeats itself. He was blinded to reality by his absorption in the subject of metre. Following brief hints by Ascham he suggested that all vowels followed by two consonants should be treated as long, but this arbitrary rule must have given himself and his friends some trouble,

for it was an attempt to make the pronunciation of English variable instead of fixed. He had no understanding of the manner in which Greeks and Romans overcame this difficulty. He evaded a solution of the problem by calling on some scholarly New Poet to produce a masterpiece by his methods, one that would establish rules by its mere precedent and authority. This may not have been so futile as it appears, for it may have been part of the campaign. He mentioned with praise Gabriel Harvey's experiments in hexameter verse, and it is possible that his book was intended to arouse a public demand for Harvey's neglected masterpieces.

Webbe, however, was more inclined to be clever than to be consistent, for he advised every poet to compile his own dictionary of rhyme, and took occasion to describe a second kind of New Poetry which was in fashion and in rhyme. Often, he said, he had seen a very witty invention, and intimated that out of many he had chosen for quotation the following example from W. Hunnis, not because it was the best, but simply because it was brief :

' If thou desire to live in quiet rest,
Give ear and see, but say the best.'

' These two verses are now as it were resolved into divers other, every two words or syllables being the beginning of another like verse in this sort :

If thou	delight in quietness of life,
Desire	to shun from brawls, debate and strife,
To live	in love with God, with friend and foe,
In rest	shalt sleep when other cannot so.

Give ear	to all, yet do not all believe,
And see	the end and then thy sentence give ;
But say	for truth of happy lives assigned
The best	hath he that quiet is in mind.'

Who would imagine that a small literary trick of the sixteenth century, the writing of compact or allusive words, beginnings of lines, leaving the rest of each line to be imagined or expounded, would in a later age become a form of New Poetry, seriously put forth as a new development to supersede effete methods of verse-making, and that it would be gravely accepted as such ?

This was only one development among many in the restless Elizabethan age, and meantime the attempt to naturalise Latin metres proceeded. Dyer is mentioned by Edmund Spenser as having considered the system, and Archdeacon Drant as having evolved rules for it. Spenser played with it in his youth, and Sidney looked at it, but neither gave it any serious attention. They saw that it would not do. Nashe condemned the English hexameter verse. Yet in 1602 Thomas Campion, without making any reference to Ascham or Webbe, whose books he must have studied, published a small volume called 'Observations in the Art of English Poesie,' denouncing rhyme and showing by examples of his own that eight kinds of metrical unrhymed verse were suitable for the English language. His brief examples are so nasty in their themes and so commonplace that it is difficult to believe that he is the author of the rhymed verses attributed to him, but he must have studied his subject, for he did not include hexameter verse in his proposals.

Campion's abuse of rhyme, his confidence and his vile examples roused a poet to reply, and with 'A Defence of Rhyme' Samuel Daniel dismissed this particular kind of New Poetry to oblivion. Daniel pointed out that it had been born in Italy and had been buried there. 'This innovation,' he said, 'is always born with reproach in her mouth; disgracing others is the best grace it can put on.'

He imagined that rhyme was natural to our language, having been so long practised, but in any case appealed to the ear of Englishmen for judgment. He must have startled scholars by claiming that rhyme was a far happier harmony than anything antiquity could show. Passing from Campion to the whole fraternity of the impressive absurd, he objected to making the fine and the beautiful abstruse or obscure. One would think, he said, that Art was meant to afflict Nature. What are these reformers about, Daniel asked, but to make us change prisons and put off one set of fetters only to be enchained with others? What would be the gain, since there would be as idle poets in Latin measures as in English rhyme? It is matter that satisfies the judicious; the pretended new rule of words can deal not with matter but only with words, and why make words what they are not? Besides, rhyme is far more laborious than loose measures. It is fantastic

giddiness to forsake the ways of former poets, and though poets must strive for perfection they will always succeed best by keeping the course that good singers have already laid out for them.

To complete the history of this episode there must be honourable mention of George Puttenham, if it was he who wrote 'The Arte of English Poesie,' published anonymously in 1589. He had astonishing erudition and acuteness, carried his learning lightly in the manner of great minds, and was distinguished for common sense that no problem could warp. In Chapters XII to XV of Book II he discussed the classical metres as a matter of intellectual amusement, and showed that all Latin metres could be used in English verse, simply by preserving the proper English accents. Many poets since his time and even before it have played with these metres in this way.

A third kind of New Poetry arose in England with Donne and his imitators. That this was derived from Italy and Spain, from the predecessors of Marini and Gongora, if not from these two, is a certainty; the resemblance is too great to be accidental. The nature of this verse is described by Hallam and Laborde, but nowhere so well as by Dr Johnson in his 'Life of Cowley':

'To show their learning was their whole endeavour. . . . Their thoughts are often new, but seldom natural; they are not obvious, but neither are they just, and the reader, far from wondering that he missed them, wonders more frequently by what perverseness of industry they were ever found. . . . The most heterogeneous ideas are yoked by violence together; nature and art are ransacked for illustrations, comparisons and allusions. . . . Their wish was only to say what they hoped had never been said before. . . . What they wanted of the sublime they endeavoured to supply by hyperbole; their amplifications had no limits; they left not only reason but fancy behind them.'

Dr Johnson said that the followers of Donne were Suckling, Waller, Denham, Cowley, Cleveland, and others whose names had not survived. Hallam added Crashaw to the list. No doubt a part of their mental equipment was derived from Euphuism, and all these may be considered disciples of the next school of poetry as well as of Donne. Cowley was the most famous of them in his time. Clarendon, Pepys, Dennis, and Johnson have

given striking testimony to his great reputation, and it has to be remembered that he was only ten years younger than Milton. Two of his lines may illustrate the impression he made on his readers. Of Lucifer he wrote :

'Thrice did he knock his iron teeth, thrice howl,
And into frowns his wrathful forehead rowl.'

Many examples of such unpoetic poetry, though not this one, may be found in Johnson's 'Life of Cowley.'

Cowley himself invented a fourth kind of New Poetry, the Pindaric Ode, which had a tremendous vogue. He claimed that it was the highest and noblest kind of writing in verse, but Johnson was of another opinion.

'This lax and lawless versification so much concealed the deficiencies of the barren and flattered the laziness of the idle that it immediately overspread our books of poetry. . . . Pindarism prevailed about half a century, but at last died gradually away, and other imitations supply its place.'

There is illumination in this judgment. The rage for Pindarism lasted half a century; other imitations succeeded it in popular esteem; it was not Milton but Cowley that the public read and poets imitated; finally, in Johnson's opinion, such poetry was mere laziness and incapacity.

While those whom Dr Johnson called the metaphysical poets were writing, a fifth school of New Poetry arose in England. Johnson in his 'Life of Dryden' specifically called English poetry from Denham's time till his own the New Versification, and it was the creation of Malherbe, a Frenchman. Malherbe had at least one predecessor, Cardinal du Perron, who advanced him and who had already advanced himself by his efforts in the same style, but it was Malherbe whose great influence destroyed poetry in France and almost succeeded in stifling it in England for nearly two hundred years.

I have seen nowhere a definite acknowledgment that Malherbe was the founder of our English verse as it thrived and was read in the years 1620 to 1800, though it is usually admitted that French influence governed poetry and drama during that period. On his influence in France I may quote Auguste Dorchain :

'Comme Ronsard au seizième siècle, Malherbe sera au dix-septième et au dix-huitième siècles le chef de chœurs de

notre poésie. On peut contester la grandeur propre de son œuvre, mais non pas celle de son influence . . . il a imposé une discipline nouvelle, à laquelle se sont soumis, pendant près de deux cents ans, presque tous nos poètes.'

In 1605 Malherbe, then fifty years old, was introduced to the Court of Henry the Fourth, and in a short time the social and political power at his disposal made him the oracle of the poetic art in France. He denounced the verse of du Bellay and Ronsard, and indeed all lyrical poetry, as bad taste and affectation. He required verse to be sensible like prose, and to seek dignity of language instead of metaphoric images, smoothness instead of varied music. He desired it to read like good prose. He settled once for all the supremacy of the couplet. From these lessons it was a short step to make poetry the vehicle of adulation and satire, for the couplet is horribly adaptable to both, and useful for little else. He wrote poems to two kings, to the Queen Mother, to Cardinal Richelieu, to noblemen and their wives.

Englishmen were giving up the Italian tour, were sojourning in France and were finding there the latest and smartest fashions. Printing-presses were becoming common, and literary men conscious of talent for writing were looking for careers. Publishers could do nothing for poets, but patrons were ready to do a great deal. Malherbe showed literary men not only how to write poetry but how to make it successful, and gave example as well as precept, so that English poets travelling or residing in France learned that dignified praise of the great in the New Versification was the passport to office and promotion. Never was such a revolution in the kingdom of literature. There was opposition to Malherbe, but what could opposition do when the reward of poetry was starvation and the rewards of the New Versifiers were the society of the aristocracy, pensions, gifts of money, chaplaincies, deaneries, bishoprics, secretaryships, ambassadorships, and highly paid sinecures? A summary of the greater rewards obtained in our country may be read in Macaulay's essay on Johnson.

England was ready for the Malherbian development. Panegyric verse had flourished in the time of Augustus, in Egypt, with Ausonius and Synesius in the fourth and fifth centuries, in Constantinople and in Spain. In

England the Earl of Essex had encouraged and perhaps paid for panegyrics. The accession of James VI in 1603 had helped to set the fashion, for there appears to have been an official invitation to poets to celebrate the event, probably one of Cecil's measures for stabilising a succession that to the last hour had been doubtful.

The New Versification was not altogether given over to praise of the great, but even when a New Poet chose a subject of his own he was accustomed to dedicate his book to some important person. The exceptions remained exceptional. Consider the themes of Waller, one of the earliest of the New Poets, and three years older than Milton. He began at the age of seventeen with a poem on the Prince's escape at St Andero. Other titles of his masterpieces were: 'On the Reparation of St Paul's,' 'To the King on his Navy,' 'Panegyric on the Queen Mother,' two poems 'To the Earl of Northumberland,' 'Panegyric on Cromwell,' 'On the War with Spain,' 'On the Death of the Protector,' 'A Congratulation on the Accession of Charles II,' and there were more of the kind.

Laudation became a profession, and no public event could escape the attentions of the New Poets. When the Duchess of Marlborough arranged for a biography of her beloved Duke she stipulated briefly 'No poetry,' dismissing thousands upon thousands of couplets about his victories. Dr Johnson has recorded that the death of Queen Mary in 1695 provided a theme for all the poets. Births and birthdays of royalties and of the noble, marriages, deaths, accessions, coronations, anniversaries, battles, treaties, and all kinds of events in the life or career of the powerful were occasions for display of the New Versification.

This was practically confined to the iambic pentameter couplet, two lines each of five feet, and within that meagre singsong form popular English poetry was confined for six generations. With all the harmonies of the Elizabethans and even of Milton reverberating over their heads one poet after another strove to make the mere couplet more and more smooth and prosaic. All condemned any attempt to break the lines or to run the matter on beyond one couplet at a time, at least without a distinct pause at the end of each two lines, and even this

was servile copying of Malherbe's views on the *enjambement*. The mechanical iteration was considered music, though every true poet has always distributed dactyls, anapaests, trochees, and spondees throughout iambic verse. One of the secrets of Milton's magnificent versification was his frequent use of the spondee, retarding the beat of his line and giving it dignity. Rhyme, which can be so harmonious when it is unobtrusive, became assertive and jolting. As soon as one line of a couplet is read, the ear prepares for the clash of the wit and the thud of the rhyme. Only one English poet, Marlowe, has been able to put sublimity into the pentameter couplet, but his graceful continuous style was considered barbarous.

As in France a poetic diction arose, and any reference to common things by common names was considered low. This is a well-known feature of the New Versification, on which it is not necessary to enlarge.

It is impossible in limited space to outline the development of the New Poetry from Waller and Denham to Dr Darwin and Miss Seward, that impressive lady who thought the art of poetry outraged by a poem about daffodils, written by a young poet named Wordsworth. Blake also was young when with the serene comprehension of a great poet he summed up, in his invocation to the Muses, the state of poetry in England about 1780 :

'How have you left the ancient love
That bards of old enjoyed in you !
The languid strings do scarcely move ;
Thè sounds are forced ; the notes are few.'

Samuel Butler, author of 'Hudibras' and other witty verse, is fairly entitled to be called the originator of a sixth kind of New Poetry, since he was one of the poetic ancestors of Swift, Pope, Byron, Hood, Canning, Thackeray, Barham, Praed, and Calverley. Burlesque existed in ancient Greece. Satirists had written in many languages, and other English poets besides Chaucer had written humorous tales, but Butler seems to have been the creator of the burlesque in English verse. No doubt he owed a good deal to 'Don Quixote,' but many have owed much to him, and it is no exaggeration to say that even Gilbert's exquisite humorous verse had its far-away source in Butler.

'Hudibras' was very popular in its time, but its vogue had no effect on the New Versification, which pursued its triumphant way. There were, however, two outbreaks of revolt, both of which are also entitled to be called New Poetry. There must have been great discontent with the prevalence of the couplet and the inadequacy of the poetry in the latter part of the eighteenth century. It is significant that Johnson found it necessary to record that the question had once been asked, whether Pope was a poet at all.

In 1760 out of Edinburgh came a small volume, purporting to be translations from ancient Gaelic poetry of Scotland; in 1762 it was followed by two volumes entitled 'Fingal: An Ancient Poem in Six Books,' and in 1763 by 'Temora,' in eight books, also supposed to be translations. The author of these was James Macpherson, and though they were in prose they were a strong challenge to the New Versification, for they were as plain as it was stilted. The sentences were abrupt, and curiously fascinating for that very reason. They were full of storm, mist, cloud, stars, wind, harps and Morven, petty wars and combats, sentimental conversations, fanciful names of men, women, and places, mysticism and allusiveness. Macpherson had the novelist's talent of creating expectancy, and even in his allusiveness was always simple. He put vigour into every paragraph.

It was an original mind that produced 'Fingal' at a time when popular verse was of so different a nature. With all their defects the alleged translations charmed Scotland and created a storm in London. Actually for once English poems, so-called, captivated France, and Napoleon read an Italian version with admiration. The value of his admiration is qualified by recollection of the fact that he condescended to give Cherubini some advice on the subject of music, and that Cherubini in reply politely advised M. le Consul to *mêler* himself with things he understood.

Though it was impossible that prose translations should establish a school of poets, the publications of Macpherson deserve to be called New Poetry because of the multitude of readers they obtained and their effect on poets. Wordsworth recorded that they enjoyed widespread reputation and traversed Europe. They provide one more proof

that any new, striking fashion in poetry is likely to command the attention of numberless readers.

As Thomson taught Gray a good deal, so Macpherson must have taught Bishop Percy, and this is no idle comparison of small poets with great, because the effect of 'The Reliques of Ancient English Poetry' was far greater than any influence that Thomson and Gray commanded. Percy must have scrutinised Macpherson's pages with intense interest, with illumination, and with ever-growing confidence that the simple style of the ballads was abiding. Whatever 'Fingal' and 'Temora' might be, 'The Reliques' was a New Poetry indeed, for after a century and a half it was the old, and though its effect was delayed it was to startle young poets as if out of a sleep. Wordsworth was later to call on the poets of his time to acknowledge their debt to 'The Reliques,' saying that it had redeemed English poetry. It was the forerunner of 'The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border,' and it inspired all Scott's verse. Without it we should not have had 'The Ancient Mariner' and 'Christabel,' or Macaulay's ballad verse, which will endure. It was the inspiration of modern German poetry, and its influence on every English poet since 1800 is as certain as the prospect that its influence will not pass away.

There have been many other kinds of New Poetry, including the Macaronic, the Della Cruscan, the acrostic, and the figure-poetry exemplified by Puttenham in 'The Arte of English Poesie.' The trade in epics is almost worthy of the name, with the productions of Davenant, Cowley, Young, Blackmore, and others. Coleridge earned ten pounds by correcting an epic poem written by Joseph Cottle. 'The Course of Time,' an epic poem, went into twenty editions, and Montgomery's epics in spite of Macaulay's criticism reached thirty, more or less. All these, however, were merely ambitious attempts in established forms. The real New Poets promised their readers masterpieces in new forms, but never produced them, while masterpieces in traditional forms came forth from time to time to confound them. Poetry is chiefly metaphor, and without great metaphor there is no great poetry. The New Poets always undertook to give something else, but never undertook to improve on the metaphors of Homer and Dante, of Shakespeare and Keats. There

have been indeed experiments in the forms of poetry, but successful experiments have always arisen out of traditional forms, and have always been the work of those whose adherence to traditional forms was absolute.

In the arts as in other affairs there are defects of spiritual sincerity in every age, defects that were dimly or not at all perceived by the children of the age, defects that they thought their superiority. A common defect is the lack of piety, as the Romans understood it, a lack of reverence for the solid achievements of the past, and this impiety has often been shown in the practice of the five great arts. The little regarded virtue of piety was the strength of ancient Rome, and lack of it was the frequent and final destruction of Greece. It is certain that there are many individuals who find worlds of delight in the supreme artists, in Shakespeare, Mozart, Rembrandt, and the masters of stone-work, but in no age will it be they to whom the millions will listen. 'The young, who in nothing can escape delusion,' as Wordsworth said, are eager to be in the midst of new movements, fondly thinking that they have found things as wonderful as new, and it is certain that among the delusive attractions of every age there will always somewhere be a New Poetry.

ARCHIBALD STALKER.

Art. 10.—THE INDIAN PRINCES AND THE CABINET MISSION.

NEARLY half of India and at least a hundred millions of her people are administered under the age-old system of princely rule. There are some hundreds of States, mostly small and unimportant ; recently nearly half of them have been amalgamated with the larger States to which they were originally tributary ; many others are combining with a view to the improved administration a pooling of their resources will make possible. There are only some twenty States of real importance ; these divide between them nearly 70 millions of the people of princely India. In most of them the administration does not fall far short of British Indian standards ; in some it equals them. Most of them have legislative assemblies, elected by popular vote ; in fact in most parts of Indian India the Government is responsive, if not responsible. The larger and more progressive States such as Mysore, Baroda, Travancore, Jaipur, Kashmir, are not far behind British India in political reforms. In education several of them have surpassed British Indian achievements. Three of them have universities. It may indeed be said that the leading States, not only from the administrative standpoint but also in the political field, compare favourably with any of the independent Asiatic kingdoms of to-day, Siam, Persia, Iraq, Afghanistan, for example.

The Indian States are in subordinate alliance with the British Crown which guarantees their safety ; they in turn are pledged, should occasion arise, to utilise their resources to the full in the defence of India. The military preponderance of the Crown in India has placed it in a position to exercise a paramountcy not contemplated in most of the treaties of alliance. By this means the States were reduced in the early days of British predominance to military impotence. For example, the forces to be maintained by the Rulers were reduced to a minimum ; the manufacture of arms and munitions was prohibited ; modern artillery and armaments were not allowed. Of recent years, however, the States have been permitted to raise and equip on modern lines small establishments of cavalry and infantry, aggregating about 35,000 for all the

States ; not a large number compared with their population and resources. Again, on military grounds, the States were expected to allow railways to be taken through their territory ; they supplied the land free and ceded jurisdiction on the railway lines. Posts and telegraphs are organised on an all-India basis ; currency is an all-India matter except in the case of Hyderabad. The States are expected to conform to the financial and economic policy of the Indian Government.

It cannot be denied that the policy of the Crown imposed a strain on the loyalty of the Princes. It was accepted because it ensured their internal and external security. No one dreamt in those far-off days, when the policy first took shape, of the possibility of the States being abandoned by the Crown and left unaided to settle their future with a political India reinforced by the sacrifices which paramountcy had exacted from them. Yet this, as will be seen later, is the position to-day.

Their critics both in Britain and America depict the Princes as obstacles in the march of India to self-government. The weakness of the indictment was shown in 1930 when at the Round Table Conference the Princes agreed to enter a federation and to cede the necessary powers to the new Government. They drew back when six or seven years later it was clear that in honouring the pledge they might be placing their destiny in the hands of the Indian Congress, a caste Hindu political party which had long shown itself as extremely hostile to the States. The war intervened and federation receded into the background.

A year or so ago the Princes were told by the Viceroy that no unilateral action would be taken to their prejudice ; it was, however, hoped that they would not unreasonably withhold their consent to necessary changes. That involved no direct threat to their safety. The Cabinet Mission has now made it clear to them that the treaties are abrogated ; paramountcy and its obligations disappear ; at the same time all rights surrendered by the States to the Paramount Power would revert to the donors. What those rights are is not specified. Would there be any hope of Congress honouring the British promise ? In the new era that is opening two courses present themselves to the States, either to enter into a federal relationship

with the successor government, or failing that, to conclude particular political arrangements with it.

The moral right of the British Government to throw the Princes over may well be questioned. It would be another matter if they could be restored to the position they were in before paramountcy exerted its influence. Most of the important States ceded vast tracts of territory to pay the expenses of the troops maintained in their interests. The Princes might well claim that these territories should be restored. It may be noted that in 1932 when the Federal scheme was being evolved, the British Government recognised that the specific military guarantees might no longer be required by the States concerned. If they gave them up they were entitled to compensation. A Committee was sent to India to assess it. In the case of Baroda the Committee was inclined to restore ceded territory, but finally assessed compensation on the basis of an annual payment both in the case of Baroda and of other States.

The great State of Hyderabad was not prepared to give up its military guarantee under existing treaties which pledged the Crown to maintain a force of 10,000 men in the State. The treaties, the Committee held, could not be terminated unless both parties agreed and there was accordingly no option but to meet the wishes of his Exalted Highness the Nizam.

The attitude of the Mission suggested that they looked on Congress as the dominant political party in India, ruling the greater part of the country with its ministries in nine out of the eleven British-Indian provinces; if thwarted, capable of paralysing a Government of India that had lost faith in itself. In such conditions the Princes might well come to the conclusion that their only hope of survival was to move into the political arena and play their part in evolving a stable government for an independent India. They would have been in a much stronger position had the British Government been less precipitate in announcing the termination of the British protectorate.

The States generally agreed to cooperate with the Indian political parties in evolving a new all-India constitution. It was laid down in the Mission plan that the form their cooperation would take would be worked out

by Negotiating Committees representing British India and the States. The main issue between Congress and the States concerns the method of choosing the States representatives to the Constituent Assembly. Congress supports the claim of the Indian States Peoples Conference, a revolutionary body of which Pandit Nehru is President, that all the representatives should be popularly elected. To this view the Princes refuse to subscribe. Leading States, Baroda, Mysore, Bikanir, Cochin, Travancore, for example, are prepared to allow half these representatives to be elected by their Legislative Assemblies, the other half to be nominated. To this Congress demurs. It still insists on election by responsible legislatures, and for this reason Pandit Nehru has recently condemned the reforms scheme introduced into Hyderabad, mainly on the ground that it does not hand over complete responsibilities to a popularly elected body. The Pandit's recent attacks on the States have roused much resentment among the Princes. The result has been to bring home to them the necessity of combination if the situation is to be saved for princely rule. The steps now being taken to group, on the lines of the provinces, the smaller states of Kathiawar Rajputana and Central India, are obviously inspired by such considerations. The Princes strongly object to the Congress claim that the Union Government should exercise paramountcy over non-acceding States, despite the Mission's assertion that paramountcy will disappear with the withdrawal of the British. In other words, the Union Government, if dominated by Congress, would be able to mould to its will dissentient States, and for that matter, those joining the Union. Congress attitude in this respect is obviously meant to bring pressure on the Princes, especially the Hindu Princes, to throw in their lot unconditionally with the great Hindu party. The Princes might well retort that it hardly becomes an organisation like Congress, which even some of its supporters and many neutral observers describe as totalitarian under the dictatorship of Gandhi, to insist on full-blooded democracy in the States, even before the new government of an independent India comes into being.

The majority of the people of the States are Hindu. In most of the larger States which would have most of the seats in a constituent assembly there are many supporters

of Congress among the intelligentsia, the lawyers, bankers, big industrialists, and the professions generally. If Congress could capture the majority of the Hindu seats in the States, it would have an overwhelming majority in the Constituent Assembly. It could make sure of doing so by popular election with the influence of the Congress organisation.

Now the Princes are under no obligation to promote Congress interests. They stand to lose, if anything, by the disappearance of the British. The political and economic stability they now enjoy might collapse under the regime of the future. Congress with its record in the political field can hardly claim to thrust democracy down their throats, and so compel them to hand over to a handful of demagogues the power to decide their destiny. And apart from these considerations, is there any reason for concluding that, left to themselves, the Princes would not send to the Constituent Assembly a group of members who would not only uphold the best interests of the States and their people, but would take a statesmanlike view of all-India problems? As already noted, most of the States have legislative assemblies and there is little doubt that they would be consulted on the selection of representatives and in all probability elect some of them. The Baroda Government has already announced its intention of acting on these lines; the Maharaja of Cochin is prepared to allow his assembly the complete choice; advanced States such as Mysore, Travancore, Bikanir, Kashmir, Jaipur Hyderabad, are not likely to ignore their popular assemblies when the time for selection comes.

The Princes may possibly be able to negotiate some form of compromise with Congress on the question of representation. But what will be their attitude to the constitutional problem if the communal difficulty remains unsolved? Obviously their agreement to cooperate with the British Indian parties, so far as it went, was based on the assumption that the entente brought about between Congress and the Muslim league by the efforts of the Mission would endure and so make possible a united India. Now that the entente has collapsed and the feud intensified, the Hindu States might well doubt the advisability of allying themselves with Congress, since the result might

well be civil war or chaos. Here it may be observed that the Muslims have no wish to coerce the Princes into handing over power to their people, especially in Muslim States like Hyderabad. League representatives in the Negotiating Committee might enable the States Committee to obtain reasonable terms.

That the Princes are committed to negotiations and nothing more was emphasised by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, Prime Minister of Travancore, in a recent address to the State Assembly. They did not like Pandit Nehru's attitude in declining to allow to the States the measure of independence conceded to the provinces. The States, he declared, would not accept peremptory orders at the point of the bayonet.

The Princes can hardly be criticised if, with the threat of chaos, if not of civil war, before them unless the League and Congress work together, they hold back and insist on assurances that the safety of the country will not be prejudiced by the withdrawal of the British. They might stipulate as a condition of their accession to an Indian Union that India should remain in the Commonwealth, or in the alternative, that a treaty of military alliance on the analogy of the Egyptian military treaty should be concluded with Britain. The Muslims at least might see in such a policy a way out of the existing impasse.

There is another line of action that might commend itself to the Princes. The Mission has laid it down that in an independent India it would be impossible for the Crown to carry out its obligations towards the Princes, which depend largely on its having military forces available. The maintenance of such a force by Britain would be inconsistent with Indian independence, and in any case the British people would never agree to the maintenance of British troops in the States merely for the benefit of the Princes. At the same time if the Princes, or the majority of them, felt that it would be in their interests to form a separate union, they might, without inconsistency, propose on their own behalf a military alliance with Britain, aimed at maintaining British control of the Indian ocean and the Bay of Bengal. The chief requisite would be adequate sea and air bases in State territory. Such an arrangement could be made without difficulty. In the Rajput States of Kathiawar, for instance, there are

several ports, at least one of which could serve the purpose in view. These ports could in addition handle the overseas trade, not only of Kathiawar, but of Rajputana, Baroda, Patiala, and Bahawalpur, a great block of territory of over 200,000 square miles, with a population of 25 millions. Through Baroda, the overseas trade of the Central Indian States could be carried on. To the South, the splendid harbour of Cochin, jointly owned by the Cochin and Travancore States and the Central Government, could be made available. A few miles away from the north-west border of the important State of Mysore is Bhatkal, a small undeveloped harbour in the Bombay province. Mysore desires an outlet to the sea and has asked that Bhatkal be assigned to them. There is no reason why the request should not be granted. The harbour is useless to Bombay. Its development would stimulate trade in the southern parts of Bombay province. Hyderabad is land-locked, an economic handicap it is anxious to remove. This point will be referred to later on. If a scheme of the kind described could be brought into effect, practically all the States could carry on their overseas trade through State ports, in which case they would be entitled to claim the customs revenue on imports, part of which could be utilised for defence purposes. It would amount to several millions sterling. Air bases in Cochin and Kathiawar, and perhaps in Mysore, would probably meet strategic requirements. The cost to Britain of a scheme of the kind would not be heavy; it would be worth while to incur it in order to strengthen her hold on the sea route to India itself, to Malaya, Australia, New Zealand, and the South-East Pacific. Not only the States, but India as a whole, would benefit if such an agreement were concluded, in that not only their trade but their sea-coasts would be protected by British naval power. It would not necessarily preclude the association of the States in an all-India government, though they might prefer a separate Union perhaps with Dominion Status.

Defence lies at the core of the problem of Indian independence. Unless the successor government of a united India is in a position not only to defend the sub-continent against attack from outside but to maintain internal security, independence is little better than a

dream. Even if the major communities could arrive at an understanding, their differences are so deep-seated that there would be little hope of permanent cooperation. In point of fact India could not, even if the communal feud was settled, build up, in twenty-five years, a defence system capable of opposing a Great Power; at least that period would be required for establishing the necessary industries. Another difficulty is the provision of the right type of officer. In this connection a responsible Indian military officer (a Sikh) writing in 'The Spectator' has struck a note of warning. To recruit officers from the politically-minded class would, in his view, be heading for disaster. But would Congress allow recruitment from any other class? With the military position so indeterminate, no sane observer would rule out the possibility of Russian intervention should dissensions in India threaten disturbances on the Afghan border and beyond.

The Princes cannot be expected to overlook the danger political instability would hold. Their standpoint is different from that of the Congress politician whose one desire is to grasp the prize of empire with utter disregard of the catastrophe that might follow. To ensure the future safety of their country the Princes would welcome the continuance of the British connection in terms consistent with complete self-government, with at least a British military alliance. If they present a united front they could put forward such a claim in their negotiations with the Indian political parties. It is more than likely that they would have Muslim support and the backing of liberal opinion among the Hindus. The possibility that failing to secure a satisfactory policy of defence the Princes might endeavour to conclude a separate agreement with Britain on the lines already sketched would be a useful bargaining point.

The problem the Mission has imposed on the States is most acute in the case of Hyderabad. As large as Great Britain, with a population of 18 millions and a revenue of about 18½ millions, its administration compares favourably with that of any independent State of Asia. It has been in alliance with Britain for nearly two centuries; its moral and material support was of the greatest value in the struggle for supremacy in Southern India the British were compelled to wage against the French, the Marathas,

and Tipu Sultan. Later on during the Mutiny the loyalty of the Nizam did much in preventing the insurrection from spreading to the South. In the first world war, the influence of Hyderabad on Muslim opinion in India undoubtedly prevented widespread trouble with the Muslims. The Nizam ceded vast tracts of territory for the maintenance of the subsidiary force of 10,000 men which, as already noted, the British Government is pledged by treaty to supply. The earlier cessions included provinces on the eastern coast, the result of which was to cut off the State from the sea. The Nizam was, however, given special rights by treaty over the port of Masulipatam. For a long period Hyderabad was treated as an independent sovereign State. Regrettably the strong position given them by the control of the subsidiary force led the British authorities to impose on the Nizam a new auxiliary force known as the Hyderabad contingent. At the outset it may have been necessary ; its existence after 1825 in the interests of Hyderabad would be difficult to justify. By the middle of the last century the Hyderabad Government was heavily in arrears with the pay of the Contingent, with the result that, as security for liquidation of the debt, a British force occupied the Berars, the Nizam's richest province. Fifty years later it was assigned to the Central Provinces on a permanent lease and so practically lost to Hyderabad. Had it remained with the State, and had the Nizam in his possession a port on the coast, Hyderabad might well be one of the strongest States in Asia. It is true that it lacks the stimulus of a national spirit. The ruling classes are Muslims with five and a half centuries of Muslim rule behind them ; they are a small minority of some $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions against a population of $15\frac{1}{2}$ millions, of whom some 13 millions are caste Hindu, the rest outcasts and aboriginal tribes. Parliamentary democracy of the British type would swamp the Muslims ; compliance with the Congress Ukase would mean the submergence of the Muslim dynasty. Despite the danger facing them the Hyderabad Government played a prominent part in evolving a scheme for a self-governing India at the Round Table Conference of 1930-31 ; they are even now ready to enter into an all-India Union on reasonable terms, provided the new regime rests on a solid basis. But the Nizam and his able advisers are not prepared to

take Congress at its own valuation. They doubt the possibility of setting up, in existing conditions, an independent government of India that could maintain law and order and hold its own in the world. For this reason if the British leave India they feel that the safety of Hyderabad would best be ensured by the grant to it of Dominion Status in the British Commonwealth. Such a development would not preclude a treaty of alliance between the State and an independent India.

To maintain communication with the outside world Hyderabad, isolated from the rest of India, would need an outlet to the sea. The possibility of procuring a port on the west coast with a short corridor through British Indian territory has been discussed in political circles in the State. Another proposal aims at an agreement with the Portuguese Government to allow Hyderabad to use the port of Goa for its overseas trade. If this could be arranged the Hyderabad Government would only ask the Government of India to permit the import of sea-borne goods in bond to Hyderabad without a corridor.

This attitude of the Hyderabad Government has been criticised strongly in the Congress press. To stifle the proposal to utilise Goa, Pandit Nehru has gone so far as to proclaim that Goa will cease to be Portuguese as soon as the British leave India. In any case Congress is likely to bring all possible pressure to bear on the British Government to reject the Hyderabad claim.

The ethnographical composition of Hyderabad is undoubtedly a discordant element in the political life of the country. It can, however, be said that undiluted despotism is a thing of the past in this great Muslim State. His Exalted Highness and his advisers realise that Hyderabad can only survive with the support and goodwill of the Hindu element in its population, and that such an attitude can only be assured by the increasing association of the people with the government. Now the administration of Hyderabad is on a sound, efficient, and up-to-date basis, especially in the judicial sphere; an elaborate and far-reaching policy of education is being implemented, vast schemes of economic development have been planned, mainly with a view to raising the standard of living; Hindus will benefit as much, if not more, than Muslims, as these plans take shape. In short, the ideal

of Hyderabad policy, as the Prime Minister recently announced, is to build up a social service State.

Perhaps still more important than the policy just described is the effort now being made to bring representatives of the people into the sphere of the administration. A small Legislative Council has been in existence since 1900 ; it is to be expanded on a broad basis. The new Assembly will consist of 132 members with an elected majority. The electorate is to be on a functional basis with parity for the two leading communities. Elections in the constituencies will be joint. The Assembly will not only legislate but will have the right to pass resolutions and raise interpellations on the budget and on most questions affecting the administration. Two members of the legislature will be appointed to the Executive Council as ministers. The countryside will contribute the strongest element to the Assembly. There will be standing committees on Finance, Public Accounts, Education, Medical, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labour. The principle of a Public Services Commission is recognised. The issue of an instrument of instructions is promised which will enjoin on the Executive Council the adoption of a spirit of responsiveness and accommodation to the wishes of the legislature. The press laws are to be liberalised.

These measures constitute an important advance in the field of popular government. Objection will, of course, be taken to parity of representation between the main communities. But was not the principle recognised in the negotiations regarding the interim government ? In the case of Hyderabad there is an additional argument in favour of the Muslims that Muslim rule after an unbroken career of five and a half centuries is being shared with the Hindus. Needless to say that the reforms have been rejected by Congress as not fitting the State for inclusion in an Indian Union.

A decision of the request the Nizam's government may put for permission to export sea-borne commodities will doubtless depend largely on the view of the Government of India, dominated at the time of writing by a Congress ministry. Such a ministry would probably refuse it ; if it included a strong Muslim League element, favourable consideration would be more likely. The 100 million

Muslims of India regard Hyderabad as their rallying point, and lack of sympathy for its claims on the part of Congress might lead to a rupture of any entente between the two communities. After all, Hyderabad is only asking for a privilege accorded long ago to Kashmir, which yields an annual revenue to the State of a quarter of a million sterling, on account of customs. Moreover, Hyderabad has a bargaining point of some importance. Compensation will have to be paid by the Indian Government to the State for the loss of its military guarantee and of its Indian garrison of 10,000 men. His Exalted Highness might relinquish the claim in this respect in return for the concession of importing in bond.

In pressing their claim for British support many Muslims in Hyderabad point to the case of Egypt. Britain has, they say, given Egypt her independence, yet when the British occupied the country it was merely a satellite of the Ottoman Empire. Hyderabad, on the contrary, when it first entered into relations with Britain, was a powerful independent kingdom whose support helped to establish British supremacy in India. Looking back on nearly two hundred years of close friendship and cooperation between Britain and their country is it unreasonable that the Muslims of Hyderabad should rely on the people of Britain to ensure full consideration of their claims when the future political structure of India is finally evolved?

Despite the deterioration of the political atmosphere in India as a result of the secession of the Muslim League, and of Mr Jinnah's refusal to join the interim government, the Princes are still ready to cooperate in the Constituent Assembly.* At the same time they stand firmly by the principle that the conditions on which they can join forces with British India are a matter for negotiation; they will not accept Congress dictation. There will be no compulsion from the British Government to bring them into an Indian Union; they may remain aloof if they wish. If the efforts now being made to effect strong combinations among them prove successful, they might very well insist, as a condition of their accession, on adequate provisions

* Since this was written Mr Jinnah has accepted the Viceroy's invitation to nominate five Muslim members of that government. If the scheme works, as a necessary corollary, the Muslims will enter the Constituent Assembly.

being made for defence ; if they are not satisfied on this point, they might, as suggested in an earlier paragraph, propose a separate military treaty with Britain.

Hyderabad is a case apart. Its treaties with Britain stand on a different footing to those of the other States. It is regarded as a rallying point of Islam in India and would have the full weight of the Muslim League at its back. Attempts by Hindu interests to coerce it into entering a system that might lead to its early overthrow would have serious repercussions in India and possibly on and beyond the North-West Frontier. A settlement acceptable to Muslim opinion and to the other States generally might more easily be evolved if India decided to remain in the British Commonwealth.

WILLIAM BARTON.

Art. 11.—THANKS TO THE WAR . . .

(With a Note on Sources for Neologisms)

WAR is a powerful excitant, perhaps the most rapidly effectual excitant, of language. It quickens and enlivens, enriches and invigorates language as much in the twentieth century as exploration and travel used to do in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. That is not a justification, it is an inevitable result, of war—at least of any modern war that has lasted more than a few months.

In the war of 1939–45, as in that of 1914–18, the fighting Services have experienced a far more extensive enrichment of their vocabularies, whether technical or unconventional, than the civilian or social services have experienced; many Service terms, however, soon find their way into the civilian vocabulary.

‘In the Services, the men [and the women] live—or should live—a more exciting life; they deal with new equipment and various weapons; do things they’ve never done before . . .; many of them visit strange countries; many become engaged in a service that is actually instead of nominally active; all of them mingle in such a companionship as they have never had before they enlisted and will never again have, once they quit the Service.

Such conditions inevitably lead to a rejuvenation of language—to vividness—to picturesqueness—to vigour; language becomes youthful, energetic, adventurous.’ *

But civilians have, in the recent ‘spot of bother,’ been involved as never before: to pass through a *blitz* is unpleasant; yet, as an old lady of the East End remarked in December 1940, ‘it does take your mind off your worries.’

The words that are to be briefly treated here have been selected to fit a chronological arrangement. Some of them refuse to fit. Nevertheless, they do belong where I’ve put them, whenever or wherever else they may assert themselves—as words have a way of asserting themselves. But it is only a selection.

The Spanish Civil War, lasting from July 18, 1936, to April 4, 1939, constituted, although only the Axis powers

* From the introduction to ‘A Dictionary of R.A.F. Slang.’

seem to have been aware of the fact, that rehearsal, that Martian pre-view, of the impending World War which has been admirably related in J. Alvarez del Vayo's 'Freedom's Battle.' The original *Fifth Column* consisted in the Franco sympathisers within Madrid and it was General Mola who, leading four columns of troops against the city, thus described them in a wireless address; hence, *fifth column*, 'secret subverters and sympathisers,' any one of them being a *fifth-columnist*. In that stylistic exemplar of compression, 'The Civilisation of Spain,' Professor J. B. Trend spoke of Philip of Spain's sympathisers in pre-Armada England as 'a "fifth column".'

Far closer attention was paid, in Great Britain, to the Hitler-generated 'alarums and excursions': the days of *Welt-Politik* and *Machtpolitik* (the latter more usual in its translation, *power politics*), of *encirclement* and *protective custody*, of *appeasement* and *peace in our time*, and of *Rassentheorie* with its perversions of *Aryan* and *Semitic*. But into that Jungian maelstrom of Teutonic delusion and British procrastination I prefer, uncontroversially, to refrain from plunging; the hysteria of the *Herrenvolk* does not appeal to me, nor yet the other thing. If you, however, wish to plunge, then take, as comparisons, Walter Theimer (hereinafter mentioned) and the R. G. Collingwood of 'The New Leviathan.'

On Sept. 1 (merely confirmed by Sept. 3), 1939, many of us said, 'This is it!' and on Sept. 4, we bought *black-outs* for the windows; we became experts in the art of *blackening-out*. Rather earlier was the aviators' *black(-)out*, noun and verb, '(to experience) a temporary loss of consciousness, especially at the end of a power-dive,' but it was only in 1940 that this technical sense became public property. For some eight months, the self-deluders spoke of 'the *phoney war*' (*phoney* being American slang from the American underworld from the English underworld) and restored that expressive word to the British vocabulary. But, Hitler ready, the storm broke—where no storm had been feared by the credulous. Nations fell. Thanks, in the main, to the *quislings*. Rarely has a word so quickly and so firmly grasped the world's imagination as this common-propertying of the Proper Name, 'Vidkun Quisling.' This Norwegian ex-Army officer, turning politician, turning traitor, was executed in 1945 at the

age of fifty-eight, but not before he had, in April 1940, done his country a great wrong. 'The Little Oxford Dictionary,' 3rd edition, 1941, classified it as slang, but by—indeed, well before—the end of the year it had been admitted as Standard English.

Within a month of Quisling's manifested treachery, we had another neologism—'to *Rotterdam*,' to which the bombing of Britain added 'to *Coventrate* (better, *coven-trate*).' Whereas the former term means 'to obliterate—or attempt to obliterate—a vital portion—a clearly indicated area—of a city,' the latter means 'to (attempt to) destroy an entire city,' as citizens of Coventry are unlikely to forget.

A notable element in German efficiency was that of the *Panzerdivision* or, as we know it, *Panzer division*, 'armoured division.' The word *Panzer* has nothing to do with *panthers*, that idea being folk-etymology that arose from an association of not grossly dissimilar sounds and the swiftness of panthers and Panzers. Literally, *Panzer* is 'armour'; in combination it is equivalent to 'armoured.' The German word was used so much, not only in May to June 1940 but again in North Africa, that it was adopted by the troops, as in 'Here come the Panzers!' British pluck not long availed against the Germans in the spring of 1940, and at the end of May the B.E.F. had to *do a Dunkirk* in grim fact (see, above all, A. D. Divine's 'Dunkirk'); the phrase was painfully repeated in connection with the departures from Greece and Crete (see especially James Alden's 'Signed with Their Honour' and 'The Sea Eagle'), much less painfully when the Axis troops were prevented from 'doing a Dunkirk' (effecting a sea-borne withdrawal against heavy odds) from North Africa. So ended the *Blitzkrieg* or 'lightning-war.'

But not *Blitzkrieg* itself, for, in a shortened form and a different sense, it dominated the next period, the Battle of Britain and the bombing of Britain, especially *the London blitz*: August 1940–May 1941, with isolated *Baedeker raids* on places of tourist interest, especially cathedral cities, later. In 'The (New York) Nation' of Nov. 9, 1940, Lester V. Berrey, American scholar, in an article, 'English War Slang,' wrote: 'The word that has received the greatest currency at home and abroad is

blitz, used as both noun and verb. It carries the implication of bombardment on a much grander scale than the 1914[–1918] contribution of *strafe*, and will probably find as permanent a place in the language of war.' Like *strafe*, it has also been used derivatively, both as noun and as verb, for '(to deliver) a severe reprimand (to a person).' For millions of people, the *blitz* has invested such simple words as *siren*, *alert*, *all-clear*, with an emotional content, a tremendous significance these words had not previously possessed, and, as to millions the Blitzkrieg had transformed *refugee* from a colourless to a dolorous word, so to millions the *Blitz* has familiarised *evacuee*, which, however horrible a derivation from 'evacuated person' (itself a poor substitute for 'transferred person' or some richer term), has been forced upon us by usage. It was also during this period, latter 1940–early 1941, that *fighter* became established for 'fighter 'plane' and *bomber* for 'bomber (or bombing) 'plane,' to such an extent that these are now almost the predominant senses of these two words.

To the earlier part of this period we owe the expressive *take evasive action*. Mary Welsh Monks, in her article, 'No Time for Tears,' in Allan A. Michie and Walter Graebner's 'Lights of Freedom,' 1941, conveniently stated that 'Fighter pilots' combat reports include "I took evasive action," and the W.A.A.F. adopted it in describing their adventures on dates. It is heard in powder rooms everywhere now' (*powder room* being an import from the United States). In 1941–42 it signified, as it still does, 'to avoid a difficulty or a danger; to depart tactfully, or prudently escape.' Since early 1943 it has also signified, 'to evade payment of a debt or the discharge of an onerous or unpleasant duty.'

Let us, before we pass to another Service and to other periods, discharge our neological debt to the Royal Air Force and its fellows, chiefly the R.A.A.F., the R.C.A.F., the R.N.Z.A.F., the R.S.A.A.F., and note a few of the inceptions made by, or because of, the Air Force. One of the most enduring is *flak*, which began as slang and as a toast ('Here's flak'—instead of *mud*—'in your eye!'), so very quickly became jargon, or official technicality, and by late 1943 formed a reputable ingredient of the language, for 'anti-aircraft fire or guns.' Its four letters represent

the initials of the elements in the German compound noun, 'Fliegerabwehrkanone.' It took more than flak to send our bomber pilots into a *flat spin* (or fluster), which is a revival from the R.F.C.-R.A.F. slang of 1914-18. Of one who failed to return from a sortie, his companions remarked that he had *gone for a Burton*, the reference being to ale. *He's* (or *You've*) *had it!*, on the other hand, means not that 'He's copped it' but that he will have to go without something: in other words, 'He hasn't had it—and won't get it.' An ironic expression.

Such irony may be postulated to move gremlins to work the mischief that airmen have, for some years, been asserting is constantly being done by these sprites. The gremlins are reputed to be a foot high, to be diabolically mischievous, and to sit or stand about, grinning and grimacing at the aircrew they have so gravely inconvenienced by interfering with the mechanism of the 'plane while it was flying. The gremlin belongs to what we might rather fatuously call 'a conscious, or deliberate, piece of folk-lore.' The origin of the term is obscure. 'Webster's New International Dictionary' says, 'Perhaps from Irish *greuimín*, ill-humoured little fellow, by confusion with *goblin*.' That is an ingenious theory, and perhaps correct; certainly there is either confusion, or a blending, with *goblin*, for the gremlin is a Puck-like imp. My own theory is that *gremlin* is a blend of *grimacing* (or *grinning*) *goblin*. Against the wiles of gremlins, even a Mae West is sometimes useless.

Already current in 1939 was *Mae West*, the life-jacket worn by aircrews. Beginning as slang, in reference to that famous film actress's vital buxomness, it had, by early 1943, become the official term. Earlier—probably since about 1930—is *gen*, 'information, or instructions,' and it derives not, as so often stated, from 'genuine,' but from that sacrosanct phrase, 'for the *general information* of all ranks.' But *gen* has always been slang. To the deepest jargon, however, belongs *cannibalisation*, 'the use of parts from various damaged or other unserviceable, or at the least no longer or not yet operational, aircraft': one 'plane eating many others.

Aircraft? 'plane? Early in 1943 the Air Ministry decreed that an *aeroplane* was now to be an *aircraft* (plural, *aircraft*) and an *aerodrome* an *airfield*. The names of

aircraft hardly concern us here, but it is worth noting that whereas the Germans name their aircraft after the designers (or occasionally the manufacturers), as in *Junkers* (not *Junker*), *Dornier*, *Heinkel*, *Henschel*, *Messerschmitt*, *Focke-Wulf*, we ignore our brilliant inventors and name our aircraft after physical disturbances (*Hurricane*, *Spitfire*, *Tempest*, *Typhoon*) or after cities (the bombers : e.g., *Lancaster* and *Halifax*) or, rather earlier, after national heroes long dead (*Wellington*, *Hampden*) or famous places (*Whitley*, *Blenheim*), although once someone was happily inspired to permit a *Mosquito*, with the differentiating plural *Mosquitos*.

But what of the Army in 1939-45 ? Well, in addition to a mass of jargon (for instance, *category* debased to ineptitude and allowed to father such undesirables as *recategorisation*), it has coined, or at the least popularised, some very effective slang words and phrases, of which the most famous is *browned(-)off*, 'fed up,' thoroughly depressed and perhaps rather disgusted. Note that this is not a war-baby ; it had been employed in the Regular Army from certainly not later than 1930 and was in use among R.A.F. personnel in India and at Aden since as early as 1933 or 1934. Yet it was in the years 1939-45 that *browned off* achieved a national currency. Despite its origination in the torrid East, the term derives, not from the sun-browned hills or sun-scorched parade grounds, but from cookery—in short, from those mishaps known jocularly as *burnt sacrifices* (a fertile source of discontent among 'the men-folk of the house'). The approbatory *smashing*, originally Cockney, has been disseminated by the Army, which passed it generously to the R.A.F. (a *smashing job*, a very attractive girl) and to the Navy (a *smashing Jenny* or Wren). The Army also allowed the other Services the use of *stooge*, 'a learner ; a deputy or stand-in ; an over-willing fellow ; a third-rater' ; 'to *stooge about*, to be on patrol, to cruise about, to delay one's landing,' the verb being almost solely an Air Force usage. The origin is either the American *stool pigeon*, 'informant to the police ; hence, in the theatre, an understudy,' or, as I prefer (the earliest English sense being 'learner'), the ordinary word *student*—via *studious* mispronounced *stoo-djus*. Also originally Army words are these three : *synthetic*, 'artificial ; impractical' (com-

pare the 1914-18 *ersatz*); *snoop* (around or about), 'to pry'; *That shook him*, 'disturbed his equanimity, impaired his complacency.'

From the France of 1940-45 we have already derived *do a Dunkirk*. Other French terms are *collaborator* ('Ces collaborateurs infâmes!'), *underground movement* ('le mouvement souterrain'—sometimes shortened to 'le souterrain,' as in English we sometimes use the shorter *underground**), and *Maquis*, 'Les Maquis' were those French guerilla fighters who opposed the Nazis in rural France, especially in the scrublands of the Central, and the Southern, East of France. In France, *maquis* is 'rough scrub, tough scrub,' adopted from *maquis* (or *makis*), 'wild bushy land in Corsica,' the original being Italian *macchie*, the plural of *macchia*, itself from Latin *macula*, 'a spot, a mesh.'

The Soviet Union has contributed three terms, one directly as in 'the *scorched earth* policy' of which we heard so much in the three months following Hitler's unannounced invasion of Russia on June 22, 1941, and two indirectly—by allusion to V. M. Molotov, who, born in 1890, became in 1939 the head of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs and in May 1941 Foreign Commissar. These two are the *Molotov bread-basket*, a rack that, released from an aircraft, rotates as it falls, and scatters, one by one, its load of dozens of incendiary bombs, thus tending to produce a group-conflagration, and the *Molotov cocktail*, a bottle filled with an inflammable mixture (chiefly petrol) and fitted with a wick, or a saturated piece of rag-tape, ignited immediately before it is thrown at, e.g., a tank. *Molotov cocktail* is the translation of a term coined, perhaps, by the Finns.

The war with Japan (early December 1941 to August 1945) has revived the popularity of *hara-kiri*—incorrectly *hari-kari*—'suicide by disembowelment' (from *hara*, 'belly,' and *kiri*, 'to cut'), practised only by Other Ranks and the ignobles, for nobles and Officers do it ceremonially and most ceremoniously, and they call it *seppuku*. In 1914-18, when the Japanese were with us, we heard little, in 1941-45 when they were against us

* In e.g. Paul Brickhill and Conrad Norton's exceptional 'Escape to Danger,' 1946.

we heard much, of *bushido*, 'code of honour.' Strictly, *Bushido*, 'the Samural code of honour.' Literally *bu-shi-do*, 'military-knight ways'—hence, the customs, 'the book of words,' of the well-born soldier, the term is something of a fake, more or less invented, a few years before the Russo-Japanese war (1904–5), for the use of gullible foreigners. It is the one important Japanese contribution to Western thought in the 1940's.

The American soldiers and sailors did not 'fall' for it. But they did make two interesting additions to the language: *G.I.* (their equivalent of *Tommy*), 'an ordinary soldier,' from the abbreviation *G.I.*, 'general issue,' as applied to clothes and equipment; and *jeep*, that extraordinarily useful and versatile cross-country vehicle which came on lease-lend to Britain long before we welcomed the *G.I.*'s and which has likewise been formed from initials, in this instance *G.P.*, '(for) general purposes,' hence an adjective, 'general-purpose,' the original form being 'a *G.P. vehicle*.'

Oddly enough, the 'jeep' (official since 1943) had a precursor in the not dissimilar, ugly but efficient British utility motor-van that in 1939–43 the Army called a *doodlebug*, so named both from the *doodles* one absent-mindedly draws on pad or paper and from the resemblance this vehicle bears to a large *bug* or beetle. And so the *doodlebug*, as the V.1 or German *flying bomb* of the latter half of 1944 was called by the general population, Service and non-Service, of Britain at the time, was not, as I have seen it glamorously stated, a spontaneous, genius-attaining creation by civilians but a sense-adaptation, probably made by soldiers or airmen in South-Eastern England, of the earlier, the Army term, by way of the idea, 'a doodlebug, or a jeep, in the air.'

Objects even more unpleasant than the doodlebug were to travel the skyways. Late in 1944 and early in 1945, the same area of England was visited by numbers of projectiles known as V.2 or the *rocket-bomb*, which received no happy nickname, but, much as Hitler was usually mentioned as *that man* (cleverly misappropriated by Tommy Handley), was usually referred to as *that bloody nuisance*.

Apparently the Japanese found the *atom bomb* to be something more than a nuisance. The term *atom bomb* is

a shortening of the perhaps more sensible, more aptly descriptive *atomic bomb*, which, by the way, was, as a potential, being freely discussed by the Americans before they became involved in the war, as you may see for yourselves if you turn to 'The Reader's (not The English) Digest' of 1941. That the word, like the thing, has come to stay, seems all too probable.

The war has ended, but war responsibilities are with us. In occupied enemy countries our troops were, at first, forbidden and later allowed to *fraternise*, which has therefore modified its meaning from 'to live, to act, as brothers with—or towards—others of one's own race' to 'doing this with members of an enemy or ex-enemy race; especially to become friendly with an enemy of the opposite sex.' The slang shape of the word is 'to *frat*,' and he or she who 'frats' is a *fratter* and the practice is *fratting*.

Which reminds me that the war of 1939–45 has popularised the hitherto official or pedantic *national*, 'one who belongs to a nation,' as in 'a British national—enemy nationals.' Originating, at the beginning of the present century, as a term in the theory of International Law, it has its justification in the fact that it is so very convenient, for it covers sovereign (or president) and subject, citizen and non-citizen.

Nobody can *blue-print* a living language, nobody can furnish an adequate *blue-print* of even the neologisms: such fatuities are best left to bull-dozing bureaucrats and doctrinaire departmentalists. But John P. Marquand has, in 'So Little Time,' 1943, said, 'He was suddenly tired of all the new words—"streamlined," "blitz," "three-point program," "blueprint".'

* * * * *

Having considered the preceding terms (a representative, not an exhaustive list), the reader may well ask, 'But where can I find these words? Further, what sources *are* there, in general, for neologisms? Is it all a matter of luck, good or bad, whether I'm kept aware of the new terms creeping—or storming—into the language?'

First, it is nobody's business (except that of the individual himself) to keep him aware of these newcomers. But here are a few hints, several of which are somewhat

obvious ; my experience, however, is that except among 'the experts,' the extent to which the obvious escapes notice is 'just nobody's business.'

The sources may be divided into two main groups : the current ; the lexicographical.

In the current, I include both the books that are appearing every day, and certain periodicals. It is impossible to say anything useful about the former, although certain writers yield far more than others. Of American novelists, Sinclair Lewis and John P. Marquand are to be signalised ; of British, Charles Morgan, Stanley Houghton, Rose Macaulay. One can be more definite about newspapers and other periodicals. The richest American sources that are also trustworthy are 'The American Mercury,' 'Harper's Magazine,' 'The Atlantic Monthly,' 'The New Yorker,' and 'The (New York) Times.' Then there is a periodical that bridges the gap between the academic and the non-academic worlds : 'American Speech' takes into account every manifestation of the language as it is spoken and written in the United States, from cant (the language of the underworld) to the classics, from the speech of the commuter to that of the cinema, from the worst of tabloid journalism to the best American writing. We have in Great Britain—in the entire Commonwealth of Nations, indeed—nothing that can be compared with it. To 'The American Mercury' our nearest parallel is 'John o' London's Weekly,' the most valuable of all British periodical sources. Of British newspapers, the most valuable for our purposes are 'The Times,' 'The Manchester Guardian,' 'The Daily Telegraph' ; for journalists, there is the Journal of the Institute of Journalists. In South Africa : 'The Cape Times,' 'The Cape Argus,' 'The Johannesburg Star.' For Australia : 'The Sydney Bulletin.'

Midway between the current and the lexicographical stands that alert commentary which takes the form of book or tract. Here again, the United States of America possess something to which we in Britain can offer no rival, no counterpart—the successive carefully revised and considerably augmented editions of H. L. Mencken's 'The American Language,' first published in 1918 ; second edition in 1922 ; third in (?) 1928 ; fourth in 1936 ; and the new, 'positively monumental' one in 1946-47. On

the other hand, we have in England something for which, in America, they have to go to both Mencken and 'American Speech,' and even then do not find some of the 'features' of the Society for Pure English tracts, which, in addition to dealing with specific themes (the Subjunctive, the Fused Participle, and what-have-you), return at intervals to certain matters of ever-recurring interest, such as neologisms, the most suitable and sensible English forms and plurals of words imported from other languages, and so forth. These tracts constitute a storehouse of information too often ignored by scholars and almost entirely ignored by those who, without pretension to scholarship, yet have some claim to be called educated or even cultured. If you consult the S.P.E. tracts and regularly read 'John o' London's Weekly,' and the newspapers mentioned above, you will, within a reasonable interval, find almost every neologism—with this proviso, that for technicalities you must go to the technical and scientific periodicals.

The lexicographical sources are the more important, perhaps only because they are more convenient; here you find immediately, without having to hunt for it, the word you want. Or maybe you do not. Neologisms fall into two classes: new words or phrases (or new senses of these words and phrases); and new usages, in so far as they can be differentiated from new senses. For the United States, the best work on current usage is Perrin's 'Index to English,' although H. W. Horwill's 'A Dictionary of Modern American Usage' is very useful to the British public; for Britain, the matchless H. W. Fowler's 'A Dictionary of Modern English Usage,' although, since 'Fowler' has not been 'modernised' since its appearance in 1926, my own 'Usage and Abusage' (due late in 1946 or early in 1947) is not unuseful, the more so as it contains a section—quite independent of, though necessarily overlapping, this article—on War neologisms and a long section on Vogue Words prevalent since 1918, as well as many entries that simply could not have been made in 1926.

The lexicography of neologisms has always presented a difficulty, not only to the searching public, which, after all, has only to look for them, but also to the lexicographer. Some neologisms are so short-lived, so little used even

during their ephemeral life, that they are hardly worthy of record : and it is impossible for the lexicographer to know, although if he possess a genuine flair he may guess, which neologism will live and thrive and which will rapidly fade and die. Moreover, the lexicographer has no infallible means of prophesying whether a slang neologism will achieve acceptance, first by colloquialism, then by familiar English, and finally (if ever) by literary English. Arbitrarily perhaps, yet conveniently, lexicography may be divided into that of Standard (or good) English and that of slang (and other unconventional) English.

'First things first': Standard before slang. It is advisable to consult the latest supplement to that great work, 'The Oxford English Dictionary'; that to 'The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary' (1945); that to 'The Concise Oxford English Dictionary' in late 1944. Even the supplements to 'The Pocket Oxford' and 'The Little Oxford' contain astonishingly up-to-date neologisms. The editors of 'Chambers's English Dictionary' have likewise been scrupulously conscientious in the modernisation of the only serious rival to 'The Concise Oxford.'

In the United States, 'Webster's New International Dictionary' contains, in the most recent recension (late 1944), a quite invaluable supplement *: this constitutes † much the fullest list of post-1939 neologisms, whether in English or American words and whether published in America or Great Britain. Nevertheless, one other American dictionary must, even in so cursory an 'aid' as this, be mentioned as conscientious about, and valuable for its recordings of, neologisms, and that is 'Funk and Wagnalls,' or, less familiarly, 'The Standard Dictionary,' whether as 'The Comprehensive Standard Dictionary' or as 'The New Standard Dictionary,' published by Funk and Wagnalls and edited, from about 1910 until his death in 1939, by the erudite and courageous Frank Vizetelly. Politically important, for America as well as for Britain, is the latest edition (*whenever* that may be) of Walter Theimer's 'The Penguin Political Dictionary.'

Slang and other unconventional English, both British English and American English, are even more difficult to

* 'Supplement' is perhaps a misnomer, for the list precedes the Dictionary proper.

† At the time of writing : mid-August, 1946.

catch on the wing, cage, and set edibly before the public. American slang has been admirably organised in 'The American Thesaurus of Slang,' 1942 (English edition, 1943), by Lester V. Berry and Melvin Van den Bark; arranged on the plan of 'Roget's Thesaurus.' It contains much that, to us in Britain, will seem not merely new but impossible. Recent English slang terms will swell the third edition of my 'A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English,' on which I am at present working; but this, like my recently completed 'A Dictionary of the Underworld' (British and American), will hardly appear, at the earliest, before late 1947. In the meantime, therefore, you had better, for Service slang of the War years, consult J. L. Hunt and A. G. Pringle's 'Service Slang' (Faber and Faber), C. H. Ward Jackson's witty 'It's a Piece of Cake' (The Sylvan Press), and my own 'A Dictionary of R.A.F. Slang' (Michael Joseph). 'Service Slang' contains the slang of the Navy as well as that of the Army and the Air Force; but a much fuller list of recent naval slang words is that in the glossary (not likely to appear until some months after this article does) by Lieutenant Wilfred Granville, R.N.V.R. Military and naval slangs, fortunately, are a little less 'tricky' than Royal Air Force; even so, it is advisable to possess a Service glossary, for not all War novelists and memoirists are so obliging as the authors of that exceptionally good book 'Escape to Danger.'

ERIC PARTRIDGE.

Art. 12.—GERMANY APPROACHES THE CROSS-ROADS.

WHITE-GLOVED American sentries presented arms as our car turned into the gates of the Heinrich Kleist Park, seat of the Allied Control Council in Berlin. The standards of the four occupying powers hung limp before the main entrance. General Koenig's car and its escort of nine outriders, tricolours fluttering, were pulling away from the steps. An expectant looking officer of the N.K.V.D., the Soviet Security Police, was waiting at the door. A long black car, unescorted, shot up behind us. Out of the seat beside the driver climbed a solitary Russian wearing the massive gold epaulettes of a Marshal—Vladimir Sokolovsky, the new Soviet Commander-in-Chief.

A wide marble staircase, lined by American soldiers with fixed bayonets, leads to the Grand Conference Room on the first floor. A tall 'snowdrop' checked our passes and we entered a large well-proportioned room, decorated with all the flamboyance of William II's Empire. In the centre stands a square table round which the four delegations sit.

The Soviet delegation faced the British. In the centre sat Sokolovsky, his impassive face hiding his thoughts like a mask. With his wide, marble-like brow and straight black hair he looks not unlike a larger edition of Napoleon.

Semenov, the new Minister, was on his right, wearing the grey uniform of the Soviet Foreign Office. His clever, crafty, watchful face at times seemed almost sinister. Beyond him was Ivanov, the Councillor, whose features are Western and unslavonic. His tapering fingers contrasted with the great paws on either side—probably the son of some Tsarist official or officer. Left of the Marshal was Madame Volvina, who interprets in a high, whining voice, and beside her Kurochkin, a Cossack General, the Chief of Staff, with a typically Slav face.

Left of the British sat the Americans with General MacNarney, Eisenhower's successor, at their head. On his right sat his deputy, General Lucius Clay, a thin, intelligent face with a hooked nose which gives him an almost birdlike look—a watchful bird of prey. His

Anglophile sentiments have never been marked. On his left sprawled the tall figure of Ambassador Murphy.

General Koenig's delegation, consisting of his deputy, General de Noiret, and Ambassadeur de France de St Hardouin, sat opposite the Americans.

Marshal of the R.A.F. Sir Sholto Douglas, Montgomery's successor, led the British. Beside him sat Sir William Strang of the Foreign Office and General Sir Brian Robertson, son of 'Private to Field Marshal.'

This is the Council which, sitting at the top of a vast pyramid of quadripartite committees and directorates, must give its signature to all laws and decrees issued to the German people. It is the pinnacle of an enormous, cumbersome structure erected by the Potsdam agreement—an agreement which three of the powers signed and the fourth, as General Koenig never tires of reminding his colleagues, did not. Some measure, educational, financial, economic, or agricultural, is put forward in its appropriate committee. Through months of wrangling it slowly makes its way up the pyramid to the four chiefs of staff and so at last to the Control Council. At any or every stage it can be blocked by the veto of one member. All decisions must be unanimous.

Matters that are important cannot be agreed upon, and matters that are agreed upon are not important. The interpretations of the wording of the Potsdam Agreement by its signatories differ, for the aims of the occupying powers are widely divergent.

The aim of His Majesty's Government is ambitious. It is to bring about a change of heart in the German people. They wish to reverse the strong authoritation and centralising tide of past decades. Both right and left in Germany raise a howl at the slightest suspicion of separatism—in the Rhineland, Bavaria, South Schleswig, or anywhere else. The word 'federation' is anathema to every German. So Military Government use the word 'decentralisation.' Hanover in 1866 became a Prussian province, ruled by decree from Berlin. The British have restored it to the status of a 'Land' with its own Prime Minister and wide powers of autonomy are intended for its government. The Prussian province of Westphalia has also been formed into a 'Land' together with that part of the Rhineland which lies in the British Zone.

The same policy will be put into practice lower down the scale. The 'Kreise' or County Councils will be given wide local authority, and the 'Gemeinde' or Parish Councils powers independent of the 'Kreise.'

Besides enlarging the powers of local governments the structure of the local governments themselves is being radically changed. Responsible local government is a plant that has never thrived in German soil. It once existed in the Hanseatic towns, and at the close of the eighteenth century there was some tendency towards it in the Rhineland. There and in Westphalia it was uprooted by Napoleon, who laid so much of the foundations on which Imperial Germany was built. The *Bürgermeister* became at once a slave and a master in the government machine. He was the official, at the end of the long chain of direct command, who executed in town and parish what the *Wilhelmstrasse* decreed. It was a full-time job and he was fully paid. His first responsibility was to the German state, not to the town *Minden* or the parish of *Alswede*. The local council might advise him but could not control him. His word was absolute. He was an autocrat.

This was the system under the Kaisers, the Weimar Republic, and Adolf Hitler. 'When I got the power in Hamburg' said the new *Oberbürgermeister*, appointed after our occupation, to a British General. It is hard to imagine a new Lord Mayor of Birmingham using such a phrase.

A revolution has been made by the British. They have cut the *Bürgermeister* in two. The politician has been separated from the civil servant. The new *Bürgermeister* will be elected by the people he governs and will be no more than the chairman of the elected council. Both he and the council will be unpaid. At the end of their term of office they will have to answer for it on the hustings if they wish to remain in power.

The 'Stadtdirektor' or Town Clerk will on the other hand be paid as a full-time civil servant and will be forbidden to take an active part in party politics.

The change is fundamental. The Germans do not like it and find it hard to understand. The Socialists wished to put their own party men into as many civil service posts as possible, including the police. The right

wing say that in forbidding politics to civil servants the British have robbed them of some of their ablest sympathisers. The ordinary German, who has little use for any of the present political parties, is sorry to see an 'efficient professional' replaced as *Bürgermeister* by an elected 'amateur.'

As a Socialist Government, His Majesty's Ministers look with favour at Socialists in Germany—both for socialism's sake and because they consider a prosperous socialist Germany the best bulwark against a Communist Germany allied to the Soviet Union. They have expropriated the German coal and steel owners. They are also carrying out 'land reform.' Somewhat to Mr Hynd's surprise they have found that there are very few large estates in the British Zone, and that the owners of those that do exist are not the popular conception of East Prussian militarist Junkers. Nevertheless, what big estates there are, are to be carved up. This will enable more people to make their living on the land. It is, however, doubtful whether the new small holdings will provide as much food for the Ruhr as did the large farms.

The German equivalent of the British Labour Party are the Social Democrats. The British give them every encouragement and some practical help. In the new land of Westphalia and North Rhine, for instance, the strongest party is known to be the Christian Democratic Union. Yet the Socialist press is allowed enough newspaper for a circulation of 978,000; only 1,000 less than that of the Christian Democrats.

British support of German Socialists may not prove to be an entirely one-edged weapon. 'If you continue to support the Social Democrats as you do, you will receive for your efforts the receipt from the German electorate which you deserve,' said Dr Adenauer, leader of the Christian Democratic Union, to a Colonel of the British Political Division. This thought has evidently also occurred to Dr Kurt Schumacher, the dynamic one-armed leader of the Social Democrats, who has been at pains to criticise outspokenly the British administration at his political rallies.

If the various radical changes in Germany's political structure and the re-education of the people are to take

root, it is essential that existence in the British Zone should at least be bearable. This is not the case.

The Germans are crowded into ruined towns. There is little glass and no domestic coal against wind and weather. Families huddle into the cellars of bomb-blasted houses, through which seep rain-water and the stench of sewage. They are always hungry. They stand for hours in bread queues. Old clothes wear out and there are no new ones to replace them. The shops are almost empty. They see workshops, which have provided their livelihood and that of their fathers before them, dismantled and removed as reparations. Coal, the life-blood of the Ruhr, is floated down the Rhine to France while factory chimneys stand idle.

In these gaunt, ghostlike cities there is usually one brightly lit building from which comes the sound of jazz. This is the British Club. The Germans that wait on their conquerors tell of the good meals they eat and of the wine they drink.

Curiously enough when the British came they started their occupation with a great store of credit of popularity. The misery of the past year has slowly dissipated this credit and the popularity has turned to hatred—a silent hatred which only occasionally is openly shown. There is a growing belief that Dr Goebbels was right in saying that Germany was engaged in a struggle for life itself and that she is now watching her own death at the hands of the British. At the root of this slump lie two main causes—shortage of food and shortage of coal.

Six months of slow starvation on 1,000 calories a day told its tale. By June 1946 1 per cent. of the Ruhr were suffering from hunger oedema and people were beginning to collapse at work and in the endless food queues. The industrial north-west has never been able to feed itself. It was always dependant on the great grain growing acreages to the east—Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and Saxony—provinces now beyond the Soviet 'frontier.' Its own harvests never provided much more than half its food. The harvest of 1946, starved of fertiliser, was more straw than grain and gave only 75 per cent. of the normal yield. It was insufficient even to provide a ration of 1,000 calories. To raise the ration from October 1946 to the New Year to 1,500 calories—the minimum to prevent

famine and disease—three-quarters of a million tons of grain would be needed.

Exports of coal to the liberated countries have never begun to satisfy the French. Yet if these exports continue the Ruhr will grind to a standstill. We are not allowed to keep enough coal to maintain the mining machinery of those pits that are working—let alone 'reactivate' those that are not. Mines not infrequently stand idle for days waiting for some small piece of mechanism to be repaired or replaced.

If a moratorium of six months could be imposed on the export of coal, or if a substantial cut could be made in the quantity exported, the production of the Ruhr mines would be vastly increased. France would benefit, taking any but the shortest term view. We should be able to manufacture goods whose export would drastically reduce the cost of occupation and we could do something to improve the dismal life of the people of our zone.

So long as the present rate of export continues the zone can never pay its way and economic integration with the Americans will be of little avail.

There is no white race in the world so badly housed as the Germans of the British Zone. The industrial north-west caught the full weight of Allied bombing. Nothing in Great Britain, neither Coventry, Plymouth, nor London, even compares with the miles of gutted streets, the acres of rubble of Hamburg, Hanover, and Cologne. The problem of rehousing the population, even with the backing of the pre-war output of Ruhr coal, would make Mr Aneurin Bevan's job look like a sinecure. With the amount of coal available, the surface of the problem has hardly been scratched.

More labour is urgently needed to mine coal in the Ruhr. But there is nowhere to house the labourers, because there is almost no coal for housing. The vicious circle is complete.

Of the five and a half million houses in the zone before the war less than two-thirds are now habitable—and in the British Zone the word 'habitable' is a very broad term.

Into this economic slum there pours a steady stream of refugees. Twice a day the trains from Stettin crawl over the Russian 'frontier' and disgorge their load—old

men, women, and children. These Germans expelled from 'New Poland' are flooding our zone at the rate of eighty thousand a week. We are pledged to take in one and a half million. The time allowed them by the Poles to abandon their homes varies from thirty minutes to twenty-four hours. They arrive almost destitute. They bring what they can carry. They are supposed to be a cross-section of the population. Of the hundreds of thousands that have so far arrived, only 11 per cent. have been men fit for work. The rest amount to so many more useless mouths to be fed. In June two complete train-loads of lunatics arrived. The populations of some districts of Hanover and Schleswig-Holstein have swollen to twice their pre-war size.

'An out-size in concentration camps' was a German description of the British Zone. It is not very surprising that they do not study our plans for democratising and decentralising them with much sympathy and enthusiasm.

Black as life is they can see no glimmer of better things to come. For they have read the published plan for the future 'Level of Industry' duly signed by the Allied Control Council.

The agreement signed at Potsdam soon after the surrender laid down that the German standard of living should be reduced to that of the rest of Europe, 'excluding the United Kingdom and the Unions of Socialist Soviet Republics.' The Control Commission was to decide what level of industry was necessary to maintain that standard. Every factory over and above that level would then be dismantled as reparations.

The views of the Allies as to what level was necessary were very different. The Soviet representatives thought that a very low level indeed would be quite adequate. The Americans thought that it should be considerably higher, though their plans allowed for three million Germans to be permanently unemployed. The British on the other hand considered that with Germany deprived of a quarter of her farming land but none of her population the level should be very much higher than any of the others thought.

For the British and the Soviet alone seem fully to grasp how vital is the Ruhr to western Europe. Its economy is so integrated with that of what Mr Molotov

calls the western bloc that it is hard to see how one can be prosperous without the other. Of this the Soviet Government is fully aware. It wants to bleed the industrial power of the Ruhr white. His Majesty's Government want the great machine to run again, not only for the benefit of Germany but for its neighbours. They want its products to pay for imports which now cost the British taxpayer 80,000,000*l.* a year. But they wish to see the machine carefully watched and carefully controlled. To separate the area from Germany would have a disastrous effect on the general economy of the Ruhr. A form of 'International Corporation,' owning a selected group of industrial companies, would be the best means of developing the industries for the benefit of western Europe generally and would give the maximum degree of security that is possible without political separation.

The industries owned by the 'corporation' would be coal and steel. In addition certain complexes of the chemical and engineering industries and public utilities would have to be included, such as I.G. Farben and the Rheinisch-Westfälische Elektrizitätswerke. They are intermeshed with the steel industry. Moreover, we are pledged by Potsdam to destroy the great cartels. The lack of an investing middle class makes it impossible to break up the concentrations and so the only practical method is to take them over.

The 'corporation' would form German subsidiary companies actually to run the industries and all profits would go to Germany. The 'corporation' would simply decide the broad policy and its principle, though not exclusive power, would be a veto. The German subsidiary companies would be given as free a hand as possible. Some international agreement would be needed to ensure that the 'corporation' did not, in times of slump, make Germany and not the industry of their own countries suffer for declining world demand.

As an intermediary measure the coal and steel owners have been expropriated and their industries are temporarily held in trust by the British Commander-in-Chief.

The industrial area lies on either bank of the Ruhr river, and was partly in Westphalia and partly in North Rhine region. One single local government for the whole

area is essential for the purpose of international control, and as the area will probably be garrisoned long after the end of the general occupation of Germany.

There were many advocates of a very small 'Ruhr Land' confined simply to the main concentration of mines and factories. Militarily this would have been difficult, as it is strategically unsound to coop up a force in the streets it has to police with no hinterland for manoeuvre.

A small 'Ruhr Land' would have cut right across existing administrative boundaries, with long historic traditions. The remnants of the two amputated provinces would have had to be tacked arbitrarily on to other areas. Such a change made at a stroke of the conqueror's pen would have aroused the maximum resentment and would have ignored the very alphabet of statesmanship. If the new Land was to succeed it had to be accepted by the Christian Democrats and Socialists. The Communists, even though the Soviet Union were a party to the settlement of the Ruhr, are sure to try to undermine the position of the western powers in the area. Outraged local patriotism is too handy a stick to leave lying about within their reach.

Moreover, if reparations are made on anything like the scale envisaged by the plan for the level of German industry, widespread unemployment is inevitable. The task of a Land government ruling one of the most industrialised areas in the world in times of slump would be very difficult. The Communists were always strong in the area, and they now form a higher percentage there than in any other part of the zone. The western powers might well find themselves faced with a local government under the direction of the Kremlin. A large agricultural hinterland gives a more balanced economy, more stability, and a good guarantee against Communist control.

So a large new land has been born. It comprises the whole of the former province of Westphalia, and North Rhine. The Communists have tried to raise the spectre of separatism, but Dr Kurt Schumacher in the name of the Socialists has acquiesced and the Christian Democrats, the strongest party in the area, have given their blessing.

The British Government has taken a decisive step in

the direction of controlling the Ruhr and ensuring that if and when coal can be found to turn the machine it shall turn for peace.

The French disagree. Thinking of warfare in terms of 1945, they are haunted by the nightmare of a great Panzer Korps once more rolling off the production lines. They want the Ruhr hacked right off the rest of Germany. They want the left bank of the Rhine, the old 'natural frontier' of France, the frontier of ancient Gaul, the dream of Louis Quatorze.

They want to see Germany weak and divided. They have consistently blocked all attempts to create central administrations. They do not wish any organisation to be nation-wide, be it a political party, a Trades Union, or an academic society.

They want Germany to be impoverished, to milk her of everything they can. They insist on every gram of coal. They are blind to all argument that this is killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. They want their pound of flesh from that goose and have it they will.

The Americans have the same policy of injecting western democracy into their Germans as the British. But the tempo of the operation has been much faster. The Land governments of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Hesse were in office long before the British inaugurated Land Hanover. They held elections months before the British. Always it has been the Americans who took the lead.

For months German democrats such as Dr Schumacher urged the British to relax the 'denazification' laws in favour of German youth. They pointed out that these young men and girls had grown up under Nazi rule, that the Nazis had educated them and dragooned them in the Hitler Youth. This rising generation, they said, would be the people that counted for the next thirty years, not the grey-haired survivors of Weimar and the concentration camps. A thwarted, embittered, dangerous opposition was being created. Early in July the Americans announced an amnesty for everyone born after Jan. 1, 1919—that is to say those up to the age of twenty-seven—except in the case of actual War Criminals. For this move the Americans received, rightly, much credit. The British, who followed this lead two months later, did not.

The Americans have been much quicker at handing over responsibility. They rule indirectly through Germans. They have all along thought that, with proper safeguards of supervision, Germans were the best people to run German industry. The British, with an enormous number of officials, have exercised a much more direct control. These officials are sometimes inclined to treat their zone as a crown colony. A member of the Control Commission, newly recruited from the Gold Coast, asked on arrival how many European Officers there were at Kreise level. When the leading German officials of the British Zone first met the Lander governments of the Americans they were deeply impressed by the initiative and responsibility allowed to the latter.

During the lengthy debates on the level of German industry the Americans did not appear to have any very deep-rooted convictions on the matter. They sided as often with the Soviet as with the British. They steered a middle course and tried to arrange compromises between the two opposing views. Their main concern seemed to be to 'fix' the matter as quickly as possible.

In May, however, at the Foreign Ministers' Paris Meeting, came the United States' offer of a Twenty-five Year Treaty against German aggression. M. Molotov turned it down flat. Mr Byrnes bitterly reproached him for this. He said that Woodrow Wilson would have given his right arm for the power to make such an offer. It represented a revolution to the foreign policy of the United States.

From that moment the Soviet-American honeymoon in Berlin was over. The United States delegation veered sharply away from the Russian, and the British felt the benefit.

The American Zone is a less expensive commitment than the British, but it costs 50,000,000*l.* a year. Exasperated by the Soviet refusal to treat Germany as an economic whole the Americans stopped all reparations from their zone. Then came their offer of economic co-operation with any or every occupying power. The British accepted.

The interests of both Britain and America in Germany are in reality the same. Neither wish to pour money into their zones indefinitely. Both wish to see them self-

supporting. Neither wish to see their chance of remodelling the German nation thwarted by suffering such as no civilised power has the right to inflict on its beaten enemy. Neither wish to see the Soviet way of life extend to the Rhine.

It is in the interest of both to see the Ruhr hum with peaceful production. Now that the zones are to be virtually economically integrated the Americans will realise more clearly that the workers of the Ruhr must eat. They will realise that to reap a harvest from its mines some coal must be sown. If they would agree to make good some of the temporary deficit so caused to France and western Europe the danger of Communist election capital being made from such a cut in coal would be removed.

Seen from the Kremlin the Germans are merely one of the more obnoxious nations of a sub-continent which has, under various leaders, invaded Russia five times since 1812. The Soviet government knows that the Ruhr forged most of the weapons for the invasion of 1941. Hitler is dead, but there are many people living in the European peninsula who have no love for the Soviet Union. The Ruhr is placed uncomfortably close to a possible 'western bloc.' It is a potential danger to Soviet security. Therefore, as many of its teeth as possible must be drawn.

For this reason the Soviet representative in Berlin tried to force down the level of German industry as low as possible. The lower the level the less productive capacity need be left intact and the more capital equipment would be available for reparations. Of reparations from the western zones, a quarter are to go to the Soviet Union and Poland. Other Soviet satellites, such as Tito's Yugoslavia, can press for the maximum possible of the remaining 75 per cent.

The ensuing chaos in western Germany would suit the Soviet Government very well, and if this chaos effected the prosperity of western Europe that would not lose the Soviet leaders much sleep.

The Soviet Union is most vulnerable to attack from the west. In the west, the most vulnerable area is the low ground between the Baltic and the Carpathians. Beyond this part of Poland lies the flat north German

plain with no great natural obstacles in the path of an invading army.

The Soviet wants a Communist dominated Germany. They are successfully consolidating communism up to the Elbe. After their experiences in Austria and Hungary, they have had a bellyful of free elections. The victorious Red Army warrior was not his country's best ambassador. As the Viennese said, 'Stalin's two mistakes were to show western civilisation to his troops and to show his troops to western civilisation.'

With the eastern zone of Germany the Soviets were taking no chances on the hustings. They quickly appreciated that Socialists were numerous and Communists scarce. Moreover, Socialists were apt to look towards the Labour banner flying over Westminster rather than to the deeper crimson of the standard over the Kremlin. So the Soviet hit upon the happy idea of fusing German Socialists and Communists into one united party. Their methods might have seemed somewhat forceful to western eyes, but throughout the eastern zone Socialists duly voted for unity. Only in the districts of Berlin occupied by the western powers did a large majority of Socialist party members vote for an independent Socialist party.

So the 'Socialist Unity Party of Germany' was born. Soviet Military Government proved a dutiful parent. If rations were increased, if progress was made with reconstruction, if prisoners of war were returned from Russia, it was the new political party which was given all the credit.

Left-wing opposition smothered, the Soviet Military Government turned its attention to the right. The press of the Christian Democrats was restricted in newsprint and heavily censored. Many obstacles were put in the way of their meetings. Candidates might only stand, it was announced, in parishes in which their parties possessed a branch, and applications from Christian Democrats to form branches were not answered very promptly. In Thuringia, despite all their requests, the Christian Democrats possessed branches in only 500 of the 2,500 parishes by the time the nominations were closed. The Socialist Unity Party had 2,500.

The elections came and the Russians were gratified to find that their protégés had secured a clear majority in all provinces.

The estates of Eastern Germany have gone. The Junkers, a class brought up in the tradition of the Teutonic Knights and the 'Drang nach Osten,' have disappeared.

A plebiscite was held in Saxony as to whether industry that had been owned by Nazis and War Criminals should be nationalised. The definition of what constituted Nazi and War Criminal owned industry included any concern that had been engaged in any form of war production or which had employed a single Displaced Person. For a country that had been mobilised for total war, and whose industry had been largely manned by foreign labour, this definition was pretty comprehensive. Saxony's lead has been followed in the other provinces, but the formality of a plebiscite has been dispensed with.

Young Germans are being carefully moulded in such Communist-run organisations as 'Free German Youth,' the 'Cultural League,' and Women's Committees. Young officers captured at Stalingrad have graduated in prisoner-of-war schools and are now taking up administrative posts. Women have come to Berlin with strange tales of children kidnapped from their mothers to be brought up by the Russians.

The industry which has been left in the eastern zone is geared to the Soviet Five Years' Plan. The raw materials come largely from Russia, and for the most part the finished goods return to Russia. But this does at least provide employment and a certain percentage of goods are allowed to the Germans.

Some of these factories turn out curious manufactures. The Zeiss works at Jena still make bomb-sights and submarine periscopes. The underground V2 factory at Lehrsten in Thuringia has been restarted.

In May the Americans called for a quadripartite commission to investigate disarmament in all four zones. We accepted at once provided the terms of reference included an industrial investigation. The Americans and French agreed. The Soviet did not.

There has been a constant trickle of Germany's ablest scientists and technicians eastward across the Russian 'frontier.' Their disappearance is often mysterious. Some have been kidnapped. 'Allied Officers,' or 'German Police,' call at their homes and ask them to accompany them. They do not return. More often they go of their

own free will. The Russians offer them excellent contracts—good rations, accommodation, and amenities for both themselves and their families. The Western Powers do not.

The harnessing of German brains to the industrial and armament production of the Five Year Plan may not be the least important outcome of the occupation of Germany.

Communism is secure in the Soviet Zone. The Russians pay lip service to the Control Council, but its writ does not run east of the Elbe. The next Soviet objective is to extend their influence westward to the Rhine.

The misery of Western Germany is the Soviet opportunity. Reparations are a useful means of ensuring unemployment and scarcity. As long as the Ruhr is drained of coal, chaos will continue. So the French Communists press for more and more coal exports. At the great fête organised by 'L'Humanité' in the forest of Vincennes on Sept. 1 a slogan in giant letters shrieked: 'Il nous faut le charbon de la Ruhr.'

The Communists in the west are backed by literally tons of well-printed propaganda from the east. They compare the industrial activity of the Soviet Zone with the smokeless chimneys of the British. They point to the difference in ration scales on either side of the Elbe. They attribute the food in the east to well-organised Land Reform. Widespread whispering campaigns accuse the British of actually exporting German food to Britain. 'During the war the B.B.C. told us that Britain had plenty of food. Now the British say they have none to spare. They are deliberately starving you, starving your wives, starving your children.' Comrade Navjoks, addressing a mass meeting at Hamburg on May 18, shouted, 'The sooner the British troops get out the better'—a remark greeted by loud applause.

The Communists beat the Nationalist drum: 'Hands off the Ruhr!'—'A United Germany!'

Old memories of the Eastern Front and hatred of the Red Army are still too fresh for Communism at present to make much headway. Yet in this desperate plight the Germans are beginning to despair of the west. To the ex-officer, to the official who held office under Hitler, to the doctor, the lawyer, the don, and the artist tainted with

Naziism and condemned to a life of manual labour, the east holds out hope. There are Germans of all classes who believe that if Germany were to join the Soviet orbit she must in time dominate it. Germany is approaching the cross-roads. If she should decide to turn to the east, the combination of German organisation and efficiency with the vast resources and inexhaustible man-power of Russia would produce a power such as the world has not yet seen.

JONATHAN BLOW.

SOME RECENT BOOKS.

Politics and Morals. Benedetto Croce.

Bevin. Trevor Evans.

John Hilton. Edna Nixon.

W. H. Hudson. *The Vision of Earth.* Robert Hamilton.

Must England Fall. H. Bennett.

Poland. *The Struggle for Power, 1772-1939.* Henryk Frankel.

Les Grands Lyriques Anglais. M. Félix Rose.

The Birth of a Dynasty. H. Plunket-Woodgate.

Fireside Papers. A Countryman's Reflections. S. L. Bensusan.

The Nuremberg Documents. Peter de Mendelssohn.

The Idea of Nationalism. Professor Hans Kohn.

Modern French Literature, 1870-1940. Professor Denis Saurat.

Benedetto Croce, who must be nearing eighty, is unquestionably a writer and thinker of world-wide reputation. In his latest work '*Politics and Morals*' (Allen and Unwin) he, as one would expect, goes to the foundations of both politics and morals. We crave, especially after a prolonged and terrible war, for repose from politics and finality in morals, and Croce tells that one is impossible and the other undesirable. Starting off with Aristotle's warning against confusing love of oneself with evil love of oneself which, inevitably, sets up a dualism between political action and moral action, Croce in ten short chapters examines all the relationships between politics and ethics. In chapter two, 'Concerning the History of the Philosophy of Politics,' he briefly and vividly reviews the contributions of Machiavelli, Vico, Rousseau, Hegel, and Haller. A great Liberal in the truest and widest sense, Croce demands liberty for every man everywhere and sees in liberty the only true road to progress. 'Attainment,' he writes, 'is always the task of the individual.' And: 'A poet, a philosopher, a saint, a simple and resolute man are worth more in political reality than all the political theorists and are able to do what the latter cannot do.' This is indeed a pregnant truth for the times, and the world, and Europe in particular, must needs learn it. An equally valuable statement is 'democracy, by idolising equality, conceived in an extrinsic and mechanical way, tends, whether it wishes it or not, towards authoritarianism, towards a static State and towards transcendence, that is, in so far as it is or contains Socialism.'

Croce's thought is closely packed, pregnant, inspiring.

He demands, and rewards, close scrutiny. Here in some one hundred and forty brief and searching pages is the whole case for true freedom and true progress. The translation by Mr Salvatore J. Castiglione is admirable.

Biographies of living people are always a doubtful experiment, as it is difficult to get the proper historical perspective and obviously the last, and perhaps most important, chapters cannot be written. Mr Trevor Evans in his 'Bevin' (Allen and Unwin) has succeeded to a notable extent in achieving detachment, while naturally not claiming impartiality in the case of a friend of many years. An interesting comparison could be made between the careers of David Lloyd George, Ramsay MacDonald, and Ernest Bevin. All began life in very humble cottages and education in the local elementary school, and all reached the Cabinet room at 10, Downing Street. The two former became Prime Ministers: Mr Bevin has not reached that position—yet; but whereas the others had years of parliamentary training before reaching office, he leaped into the House of Commons and on to the Front Bench simultaneously, and within five years he was Foreign Secretary, surely a unique record. Farmer's boy, dish washer, vanman, lay preacher, local trade union official, strike organiser, architect of the biggest trade union in the world (including over thirty smaller unions formerly often at war with each other), leader of the T.U.C., industrialist, politician, and finally statesman of outstanding merit and personality. Assuredly Mr Bevin's has been a most remarkable career, one possible only for a man of great ability and driving power, at times ruthless and overbearing, at other times persuasive and subtle, and always very human and incorruptible. Mr Evans' study is a work of importance, of great interest, and most readable.

'John Hilton,' by Edna Nixon (Allen and Unwin), is a very interesting study of a remarkable man, who would have delighted the heart of Samuel Smiles of *Self Help*. Born in very humble circumstances in a back street in Bolton, Hilton began his education at the elementary school, which he left at fourteen to become handy-boy in a bicycle shop, and afterwards a mechanic, preparing to be an engineer. A period of ill health ended that and gave him an opportunity of continuing his self-education.

Thereafter, as Free Trade lecturer and organiser, Secretary of the Garton Foundation, prominent official at the Ministry of Labour, and Professor of Industrial Relations at Cambridge, he reached the apex of his career as a star broadcaster for the B.B.C. As such his voice became known and most attractive to millions of listeners. During four years' broadcasting before the war he received over fifty thousand letters, and a still larger number during the war. He was a keen individualist with socialistic leanings—in other words he was ready to give his best in planning for others but hated being planned for himself. His industry and self-assurance were as great as his ability. He could certainly be vain and at times unreasonable; he professed to hold money in contempt, but liked the best of everything for himself—a not unusual quality. With it all he had very real charm and a passionate desire to help the under-dog. The profession of popular broadcaster is still so new that a biography like this has special interest—and the work has been well done, and a vivid and convincing portrait is presented to the reader.

Mr Robert Hamilton, in his '**W. H. Hudson. The Vision of Earth** (Dent), gives an interesting picture of a remarkable man and a revaluation of his work. Perhaps the most curious aspect of Hudson's life was how a man born and bred in the wide uplands of Argentina, with a passion for nature and the wild, was content to live for more than thirty years in a dull back street of Bayswater, and, incidentally, always wore a high, starched collar! Yet he wrote of himself, 'I who feel, when I am out of sight of living, growing grass, and out of sound of birds' voices and all rural sounds, that I am not properly alive.' The first portion of the book is of a theoretical nature, somewhat esoteric for the ordinary reader, and dealing with Hudson's philosophy or spiritual life and feelings, where we find phrases like 'physics analysing matter into the ontological realm: at the other end psychology, in its attempt to create a synthesis, passes over into a form of epistemological speculation.' The second part of the book is more factual and easily understandable and deals with the events of Hudson's life; the third part deals with his writings, romances, essays, and autobiography, which are examined and analysed in a discerning and enlightening way.

The somewhat flamboyant title '**Must England Fall?**' (Allen and Unwin) should not be allowed to prevent readers giving serious attention to Mr H. Bennett's valuable study of Current Affairs. The author's approach may seem to many unduly pessimistic. He finds little good in contemporary science, art, music, literature, or politics, and the working-classes receive many hard thwacks—some of them well deserved. He, for example, finds the nine hundred odd millions spent annually on gambling, alcohol, and tobacco excessive. So does any intelligent citizen. Mr Bennett sees a sinister likeness between Britain to-day and the Roman Empire at the end of the third and beginning of the fourth century under Diocletian and Constantine! He, rightly, objects 'to taking from the efficient and giving to the inefficient.' 'In the ancient world, luxury was the infallible omen of decay.' But, surely, we (or indeed Europe) can hardly be accused of living in luxury since 1939, nor does there seem much chance of our being able to do so in any foreseeable future. 'We have nothing to learn from the masses. Humanity has never gained anything from the masses.' The author damages a good case by overstatement. Without the masses you cannot win either war or peace.

Heroism, noble example, fine leadership, a clarion call to blood, sweat, and tears, inspired the masses to win the war, and could inspire them to win the peace. Spring mattresses and bedside lamps will not make soldiers and do not even get security; and ham, jam, and flattery will not induce miners to get more coal. The tragedy is that a fine people, all down the centuries capable of responding to fine leadership, is being misled. It would seem to be a ghastly truth that those who spring from the working-classes know least about them!

'Poland. The Struggle for Power, 1772-1939,' by Henryk Frankel (Lindsay Drummond), makes gloomy reading. It is a study of a country which at times had great achievements but which never gained internal balance or unity. In the eighteenth century Rousseau wrote, 'it is difficult to understand how a State so curiously constituted has been able to exist so long. A large body composed of a number of dead members and a small number of disunited members of which all the move-

ments, almost independent one from another, far from having a common aim, mutually destroy each other.' Another observer wrote of 'the nobles in a state of uncontrolled anarchy; the peasant groaning under a yoke of feudal despotism worse than the tyranny of an absolute monarch.' The serfdom of the landless continued well into the nineteenth century; the arrogance and megalomania of the barons still longer and they were the chief cause of internal disruption after the 1914-18 war. An American observer in Paris in 1919 considered that the ungenerous attitude of the then triumphant Poles towards their neighbours was one of the most disheartening phenomena of the aftermath of war. The author with clarity and carefully arranged evidence carries the story forward to the late war and the Polish Government in exile in London. It is all a story of hopes unfulfilled, of chances of improvement missed, of chronic misunderstanding and violence—and it explains much that is going on in Poland now.

The condition of Europe makes specially welcome every attempt that might help France and England to understand one another better or draw them closer together. Our warm thanks are therefore due to M. Félix Rose for the second edition of his bilingual anthology of English poetry entitled '*Les Grands Lyriques Anglais*' (Joseph Vincent, Oxford: Marcel Didier, Paris). M. Rose is fully aware of the risks he takes and, because he is bold, dextrous, and imbued with the spirit of English Lyric poetry, he succeeds more often than not in conveying its essence to French readers who have little or no English. The anthology ranges from Shakespeare to Old Mother Hubbard. The allusiveness, so characteristic of English poetry, does not of course fit well into modern French, which is so austere and neat. The simpler lyrics with their direct statement naturally come off best; Byron on the whole fares better than Keats or Shelley, and Kipling much better than Coleridge. The neat biographical notes at the end will be a real help to French students of English literature.

'*The Birth of a Dynasty*,' by H. Plunket-Woodgate (Cawston-Caxton Publications), may be classified as a historical novel or as decorated history. The background and episodes dealt with are all strictly true, though they

are embellished with imaginary but suitable conversations. The dynasty here referred to is that of the House of Bernadotte. We are first introduced to Jean Baptiste Bernadotte as a slightly flamboyant sergeant of Marines, and we follow him thereafter in his progress to General, Marshal, Prince of Ponte Corvo, Crown Prince, and finally King of Sweden. We also follow the career of his attractive and kind-hearted wife Désirée Clary, whose sister Julie married Joseph Bonaparte. We thus find ourselves within the Napoleonic circle, both through family ties and through Bernadotte's military career. In fact Napoleon dominates the whole story and overshadows all the other characters. Bernadotte had a highly coloured personality but he was honourable, just, and obstinately upright, too much so for the unscrupulous Napoleon, who often could neither get on comfortably with him nor do without him. Captain Plunket-Woodgate depicts his characters with skill and vividness, and we can thank him for a history lesson in most agreeable and digestible form.

Mr S. L. Bensusan calls his latest book '**Fireside Papers. A Countryman's Reflections.**' 'Written by a log fire in a country cottage on the Essex-Suffolk border through night hours in 1942, 3, 4, while sirens wailed, searchlights probed, Luftwaffe raged, and Huns imagined a vain thing' (Epworth Press). The title is very apposite. These essays wander at random and very pleasantly over a wide variety of subjects from rabbit keeping to re-incarnation, from garden weeds to existence in a future life, from war restrictions and worries to the beauties of nature. Throughout runs the strain of the author's musings on growing old, with its pains and penalties and also its consolations. Undoubtedly his country cottage with its garden, woodlands, and fields is a gracious place, judging from the pictures of it which adorn the book, in which to live and combine the parts of hard-working countryman and philosopher—in both of which parts we welcome Mr Bensusan.

In '**The Nuremberg Documents,**' by Peter de Mendelssohn (Allen and Unwin), we are told that the British and American delegations held over 50,000 documents which they considered relevant to the trials, not to mention countless others considered not so relevant as evidence and apart from masses of other documents held

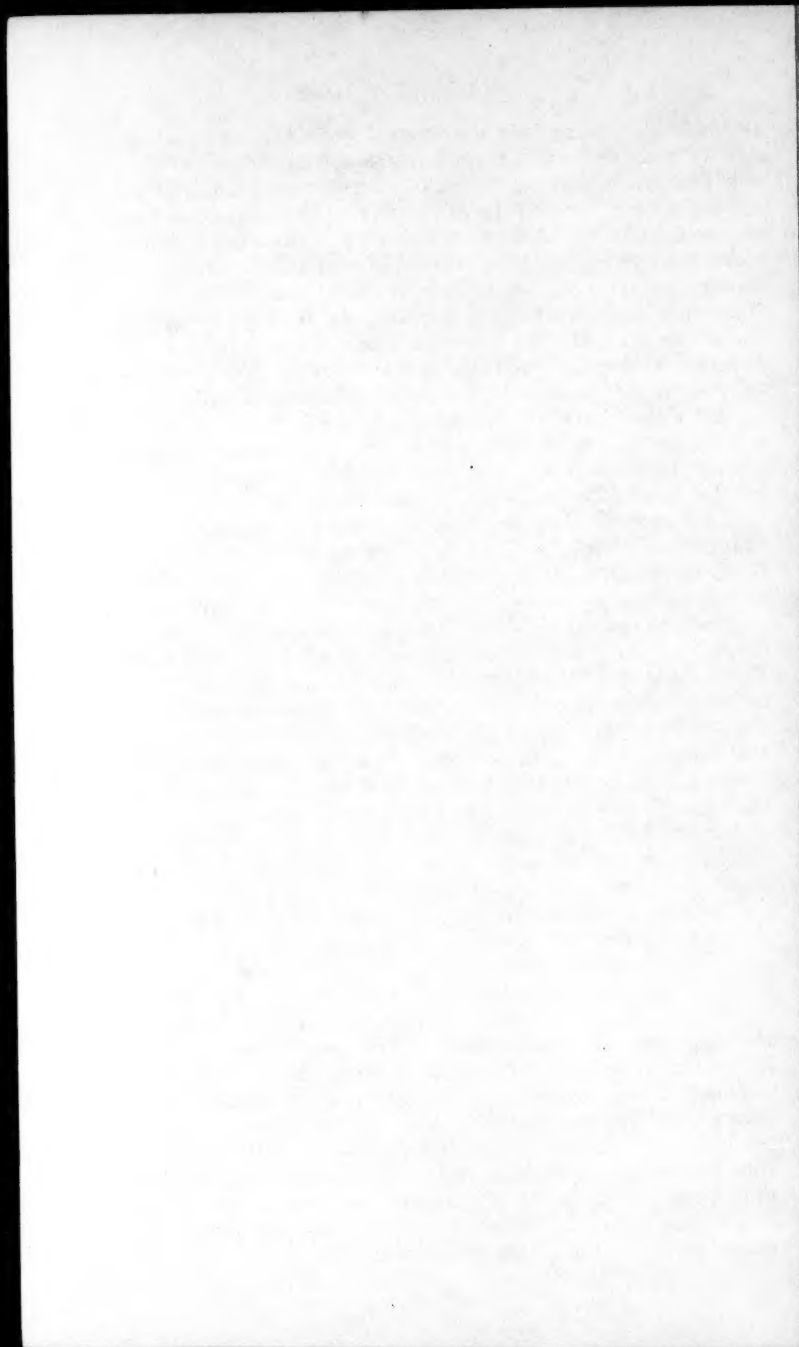
by the French and Russians. If all this is ever published it will mean not a volume but a library. The present volume is 'an attempt, not to anticipate the official publication of the full record, but to place before the general reader, condensed to their essentials and arranged in their proper sequence and context, those documents which are meanwhile available and which are of immediate interest.' Thus in order of chapters we have 'The Best Way to Start a War. Phases of German political and military planning 1937-40'; 'Otto to Alaric. German-Italian relations 1937-43'; 'Operation Sea-Lion. The Planned Invasion of Britain'; 'Felix and Isabella. German-Spanish Relations 1937-43'; and 'Case Barbarossa. German-Soviet Relations 1939-41.' These documents throw interesting and curious light on German mentality in general and that of Hitler, Goering and Co. in particular, on German thoroughness in planning and blatant errors in psychology, and on many problems of war and diplomatic relations seen from the singularly obtuse German point of view, and as such they make valuable and instructive reading.

Nationalism is such a virulent and rampant disease that it is difficult to realise that, as we understand it, it arose only during the second half of the eighteenth century. This, and innumerable other pregnant facts, are fully discussed in Professor Hans Kohn's very timely and valuable study '**The Idea of Nationalism**' (Macmillan). The subject has engaged the author's attention for many years and by birth, background, experience, and temperament he is well qualified to fulfil his task: as Sydenham Clark Parsons, Professor of History in Smith College it is, moreover, his daily preoccupation. Tracing his subject from its roots in ancient times through nationalism, industrialism, and democracy to its current manifestations, Professor Kohn leads us from Israel and Hellas through Rome, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Sovereign Nation towards a New World. His declaration that 'the age of nationalism represents the first period of universal history' merits close scrutiny because, at present, nationalism, particularly in its prevalent extreme form, seems to be a disintegrating rather than a unifying force. About 1920 the phase 'self-determination' became a politician's

shibboleth ; to-day it is a universal political incantation. All its manifest evils arise because of its denial of the spiritual truth that there are, of course, no such things as self-sufficiency or self-determination. Perhaps, like the physical body on its way to maturity, the political body must pass through three phases of virulent fever. Professor Kohn seems to think so, and concludes that, inasmuch as the struggle for human liberty began in Palestine and Hellas, even so from those two far off beacons shine the guiding lights pointing the road to 'deeper liberty and to higher forms of integration.'

In some hundred and fifty pages of closely printed notes the author has placed at the convenience of the reader bibliographies and invaluable information, the garnering of a lifelong study of his chosen theme.

Professor Denis Saurat is so great an authority on 'Modern French Literature, 1870-1940' that his new book under that title, published by Messrs. Dent, commands instant attention, though it is somewhat depressing to find on page 4 'After Racine there is no French tragedy . . . and there is no great English drama after Shakespeare.' Professor Saurat may seem to be too much *laudator temporis acti*. Yet there are famous names in French literature during the last seventy years—Verlaine, Mallarmé, Zola, Loti, France, Péguy, Rostand, Alain, Duhamel, Gide, Proust and others, though we are told that 'in literature there are few normal men among the celebrities. No one would call Proust normal or Gide a specimen of the average Frenchman, or Paul Valérie a man who thinks as people in France usually do. If we go back and cogitate about Verlaine, we feel thankful that France was not made up of dumb Verlaines—or of over-loquacious but incomprehensible Mallarmés ; a nation of Zolas or even of Anatole Frances, would be rather appalling.' In this book Professor Saurat approaches the important French writers of the period one by one, assuming a certain acquaintance with their work, and explains them against the background of history and literature. The catch lies in the 'certain acquaintance,' for indeed a very large number of readers will find that they are painfully lacking in it. However, study of this able book is well worth while and will be rewarded with much interesting information and criticism, though the reader will not find much spiritual uplift.



World News by Magazine

This has been our business for over seventy years and we feel competent to give you the service which you desire.

We are the largest and most reliable agency for prompt delivery of Foreign and Domestic Periodicals in this Country.

The latest English, Irish and German Publications we carry in stock.

We call especial attention to the beautiful Christmas Editions, forming a group of magazines that have a peculiar interest to people of culture.

Our subscription prices include postage to all parts of the United States, Cuba, Mexico, Porto Rico and P. I.

Our BACK NUMBER DEPT. can furnish quick service in supplying you with old issues.

For quick and efficient service send your orders for Foreign Publications to

THE INTERNATIONAL NEWS COMPANY

Division of THE AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY, INC.

131 Varick Street, New York City

Send for Price List

**STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT,
CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF
CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933**

Of *Quarterly Review* published quarterly at New York N.Y. for October 1, 1946.

State of New York }
County of New York } ss.

Before me, a Commissioner for Oaths for the Supreme Court of Judicature in England, personally appeared *Sir John Murray*, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of the *Quarterly Review* and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher: *John Murray*, 50, *Albemarle Street*, London, W.1.
Editor, Managing Editor, Business Manager: *Sir John Murray*, K.C.V.O., D.S.O., 50, *Albemarle Street*, London, W.1.

2. That the owner is:

The Quarterly Review is owned by the Partners in the publishing firm of John Murray which is not a Company nor Incorporated. The present Partners are Sir John Murray, K.C.V.O., D.S.O., and John Grey Murray, M.B.E.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are:

There are no bondholders, mortgagees nor any similar interests in the business.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

John Murray

(Signature of editor, publisher, business manager, or owner.)

Sworn to and subscribed before me this *Second* day of *October*, 1946,
at *43/44, Albemarle Street, London, England.*

J. A. H. Hortin.

